

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

1534 - 1829

Materials towards a biographical dictionary
of Catholic History in the British Isles
from the breach with Rome to Catholic
Emancipation

*Published under the editorial direction of the
Catholic Record Society*

Vol. 3. No. 1

April 1955

Property of

CLgA

Please return to

Graduate Theological

Union Library

THE ARUNDEL PRESS · BOGNOR REGIS

1955

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES is issued twice yearly, as indicated below. The annual subscription for the two parts is 8s. 6d.

Subscriptions should be addressed to: The Manager, Biographical Studies, The Arundel Press, Sussex Rd., Bognor Regis.

Material submitted for publication should be addressed to: The Editor, Biographical Studies, c/o The Arundel Press, Sussex Rd., Bognor Regis.

NOTICE

For the convenience of subscribers this periodical will in future be published in April and October, instead of January and July. Vol.3 no.2 will therefore appear in October 1955.

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

1534 - 1829

Volume 3

Property of
CLgA
Please return to
Graduate Theological
Union Library

THE ARUNDEL PRESS
BOGNOR REGIS
1955-1956

45230

v. 3

1955-56

56

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY

4581-4582



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY

00520

CONTENTS OF VOLUME 3

A DURHAM FAMILY: JENISONS OF WALWORTH. By Ann M. C. Forster	2
FRANCISCAN BOOKS IN ENGLISH, 1559-1640. By A. F. Allison	16
THE CATHOLIC RECUSANCY OF THE YORKSHIRE FAIRFAXES. By Hugh Aveling	69
THE PERIOD OF RICHARD STANYHURST'S CHAPLAINCY TO THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT. By Harry R. Hoppe	115
A CATALOGUE OF CATHOLIC BOOKS IN ENGLISH PRINTED ABROAD OR SECRETLY IN ENGLAND, 1558-1640. By A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers	120
THE VENERABLE GEORGE ERRINGTON. By Ann M. C. Forster	322
THE VENERABLE THOMAS PYLCHER. By R. H. D'Elboux	334
INDEX TO VOLUME 3. By R. E. Scantlebury	338

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

1534-1829.

Joint Editors

A.F. ALLISON, *of the Department of Printed
Books at the British Museum, and Hon.
Librarian to the Catholic Record Society.*

D.M. ROGERS, *of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

Contents of Vol.3 No.1.

A Durham Family: Jenisons of Walworth By Ann M.C. Forster	2
Franciscan Books in English, 1559-1640 By A.F. Allison	16

A DURHAM FAMILY: JENISONS OF WALWORTH.

By ANN M.C. FORSTER

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Jenison, late Auditor to her Majesty in Ireland, purchased estates in the parishes of Heighington and Coniscliffe in the County Palatine of Durham, and built himself a magnificent new mansion at Walworth just to the north of the Tees. Here, in 1603, his widow entertained King James I as he was journeying southward. This lady, Elizabeth Jenison, was daughter to Edward Birch, Groom Porter to Henry VIII. From her will,¹ made in 1605, we learn that three of her sons, William "the elder," John and Michael, were, to her grief, Catholics, while William "the younger," Thomas and Elizabeth, wife of Sir George Freville, adhered to the religion of their mother. Possibly the father had been Catholic:² certainly he was in sympathy with Catholics abroad, for when Lady Stanley was arrested in Ireland after the surrender of Daventer by her husband in 1586, she was advised to get in touch with Mr Jenison the Auditor.³

William "the elder" had a residence in London. He first appears in 1582, a prisoner in the Gatehouse, committed as a recusant by order of the Privy Council; he was discharged in the September of that year.⁴ He maintained a connection with Ireland, and married an Irish lady, Jane, daughter of Barnabas Scurlock. Their eldest son was born in Durham, possibly at Walworth, in 1590, but the following year Mrs Jenison was in Ireland, for a letter and "tokens" directed to her were taken on the messenger, Nicholas Sotheron, by the Sheriff of Northumberland.⁵ Other letters in the packet were for Gerard Corby, a Durham gentleman⁶ in the service of the Countess of Kildare at Maynooth. Mrs Jenison may have been living in the same locality.

Our next scrap of information regarding William Jenison was wrung from the lips of Fr. Henry Walpole. At his third examination, the 8th May, 1594,⁷ Fr. Walpole disclosed the names of two gentlemen in Ireland, for whom he had been carrying letters: one of them was "William Genisone." At a previous examination he had admitted that "one of the two gentlemen before mentioned lodged in a gentlewoman's house in Ireland, whose name he knoweth, but refuseth to disclose it."

A few years later we find William Jenison back in London, and apparently

interested in commerce. There is a letter of his, directed to Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physic, and dated the 9th March, 1605/6,⁸ in which he refers to shipments in connection with the Muscovy Company. He goes on to say: "I pray you, sir, advertize me how I might place Robin there, and what the charge would be to keep him at his book, or what you think of it, if I could get him placed with Sir William Stanley, and let me hear sometimes from you I pray you. We lie still at our old lodgings. "Robin" was his son, afterwards of the Society of Jesus.

In 1607/8, the 31st January, a "grant of the recusancy" of William Jenison was made to certain gentlemen;⁹ but only a few days later, on the 22nd February, he appears, as of the parish of St. Andrew's in Holborn, again indicted for recusancy, at the Old Bailey.¹⁰ Following this conviction, the "farm" of his estates was secured, the 26th January, 1608/9, by Thomas Jenison, presumably the brother who had conformed. The Exchequer Roll¹¹ gives the details of the transaction, and the extent of William's estate: a moiety of Walworth valued at £25 per annum, a quarter share in Woodham £3. 13. 4d, and a moiety of Carlbury, above charges, £1, total £29. 13. 4d per annum. Two thirds of this amount was, for his recusancy, forfeit to the King: the farmer, by the usual arrangement, paid a rent to the Treasury calculated at one third of the annual debt, and retained for his trouble as much of the residue as he was able to collect. In this case it was probably a friendly arrangement between the brothers, for William is described as the tenant.

In September 1610 William Jenison again appeared at the Old Bailey, at a special sessions of Oyer and Terminer,¹² on a charge of having been "seduced by diabolic instigation on the 1st day of September in the fourth year of the Lord James now King of England [1607] by a certain Roberts, a priest, who pretended he had the power of absolving the subjects of the same lord the King from their natural allegiance. . . . and of withdrawing them from the religion established within this realm." A true bill was returned. William Jenison was retained in prison, and the following February tried on the charge and acquitted. He could have had little difficulty in proving that his recusancy was of long standing, and bore no relation to any "seduction" on the part of B. John Roberts, who suffered martyrdom the 10th December, 1610. What had happened was that Fr. Roberts had admitted William Jenison and Jane his wife as confraters of the Benedictine Order.¹³

Jenison was not released. He was still in prison in February 1612/13, having

then been convicted of refusing the oath of Allegiance. He was alive and living in London in 1616, when he entered into some family arrangement regarding property.

Robert Jenison, *alias* Freville, *alias* Beaumont,¹⁴ was "Robin," William Jenison's eldest son. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1617 and in 1623 was working in and about London. In March 1628 he was one of five Jesuits captured together in the "Jesuit College" at Clerkenwell. They were imprisoned in Newgate until the following December and then released on the personal intervention of King Charles I. Fr. Robert Jenison is thus described: "He was Superior of the English Mission for some time, and was a most strict guardian of religious discipline in his own person and in his subjects; being remarkable also for devotion and piety. He was, it appears, the eldest son, and actually renounced a considerable patrimony to embrace the religious poverty of the Society of Jesus." He was professed in 1630: appointed Rector of the House of Third Probation at Ghent, and afterwards served in the Hampshire District, till his death in 1656.

John Jenison of Carlbury, who in 1630 compounded for the recusancy of himself and Jane his wife for £30 per annum,¹⁵ was almost certainly Robert's brother, and the William Jenison by whom he compounded may have been his father (if indeed the latter was still living) or his uncle William "the younger." The wife was Jane Hall of Newsham, and she appears with her mother Margaret Hall, widow, in a list of recusants indicted at the Durham Assizes in August, 1628.¹⁶ It suggests that she was still unmarried at that date. If so she must have been a second wife, for children of John Jenison are mentioned previously in the Coniscliffe parish register. Either for lack of heirs or by the family arrangement previously referred to, Carlbury shortly afterwards passed into the possession of John Jenison of Walworth.

We return to William Jenison's brothers, the other sons mentioned in old Mrs Jenison's will. Leaving aside for the moment John Jenison of Walworth and his family, we come to the two Protestants, William "the younger" and Thomas. **William** married and left a family, including a daughter Elizabeth. **Thomas** also married: his wife was a Goderrick of Ely, of a family which sent a son in 1590 to be educated for the priesthood;¹⁷ and it is only too probable that Thomas himself was the "Thomas Jenison the younger, of the North Bailey, Durham," who is recorded as a recusant previous to 1598.¹⁸ Before the date of his mother's will, however, he had conformed; and as we have seen, he probably made use of his own immunity to protect and help his eldest brother.

Michael, the youngest of the sons, in October, 1590, was in Newgate, committed by the High Commissioner as a "Meere recusant not daungerous to ye state for anything that yet appeareth."¹⁹ His wife was Martha Gerard, the sister of Fr. John Gerard, and they lived at one time at Etwell in Derbyshire, the home of Martha's mother, Elizabeth Port. (Fr. Port, S.J. was claimed as a relative by one of the Jenisons later.) In 1595/6 they were living at Rowell near Bakewell in the Peak, at which time a spy reported that Mr Genyson harboured a seminary priest, John Redford *alias* Tanfield, who studied and had his library there.²⁰ In 1600 Michael Jenison was a prisoner in York castle, one of over fifty recusants who week by week were dragged into the hall and forcibly detained to hear sermons preached by Anglican clergy.²¹ In 1619, a prisoner in Derby gaol, he became involved in serious trouble with the Privy Council. Matters of complaint against Sir Edward Coke were being discussed, and Lord Haughton, who was in the confidence of the Solicitor-General, disclosed the affair to Michael Jenison "in a letter addressed unto him in the gaol of Derby, where he then lay." The matter came to the knowledge of their Lordships, and they issued a warrant, the 14th March, 1618/19,²² directing that Michael Jenison be brought up to London and committed to the Fleet. A year later he was still there, when the under-sheriff of Derby came to him in the Fleet and demanded repayment of the charges incurred in conveying him (Michael) from Derby to London. Michael lost his temper and "Strooke him and used other violence towards him." In extenuation it may be said that he must have been penniless, for shortly afterwards an order was made that the under-sheriff be repaid out of public funds.²³ Michael seems to have been at liberty for a time, and to have used the opportunity to petition the King for leave to prefer a complaint against Sir Edward Coke for the "severe and hard usage which the said Sir Edward did procure by the then warden of the Fleet to be exercised upon him" during his imprisonment. This action was construed as reflecting upon the Privy Council, and Michael was re-committed to the Fleet the 9th January, 1621/2.²⁴ It was only upon his humble petition,²⁵ disclaiming any intention to offend, and begging that "forasmuch as the particular charges against the said Sir Edward Coke and his said confederate, are just, true, and as to the Petitioner of great and weighty consequence. . . . your Lordships will be honorably pleased to admit him to his desired legal course as formerly to his Majesty he hath petitioned," that the order for his release was made, the 15th February, 1621/2.²⁶

Both he and his wife were probably dead, or else had lost the custody of their

children, some time before 1630, for two of them, Mary and Michael, were brought up by their aunt, Dame Elizabeth Freville. In her will, made at Walworth the 1st July, 1630,²⁷ she made special provision to prevent Mary from contracting a Catholic marriage or coming under Catholic influence: "if at any time during her life she doe become a Papist that immediately from that tyme of such her falling to Popery she shall repay the said legacy so payed to her."

Besides the two children named in Dame Elizabeth's will, Michael and Martha Jenison had a daughter Margaret, possibly the Margaret Jenison who was in the household of Elizabeth Vaux at Boughton, and who was indicted with her for recusancy in 1618.²⁸ There may have been others as well.

To come back to **John Jenison** of Walworth, the second of old Mrs Jenison's sons: he married Mary, another sister of Fr. John Gerard. They were still unmarried in 1583, when Mary Gerard was returned, in Lancashire, as one of "three yonge gentlewomen who had never before bene at the church"²⁹ but who had now conformed. Her conformity could not have lasted long. At the time her son Thomas was born, about 1603, they were living in Lancashire. "Having been compelled to retire thither by the violence of the persecution."³⁰ This was while John's mother was occupying Walworth. Lancashire probably means Bryn, the home of the Gerards. They must have returned to Walworth after the old lady's death, for the same son Thomas tells us: "My father spent his life in his own house called Walworth."

The name of Mary, wife of John Jenison of Walworth, appears in a list of recusants indicted at Durham Quarter Sessions, the 7th January, 1607/8.³¹ Her husband had made a show of conformity. This we learn from a return made to the Bishop of Durham, William James, in August, 1609.³² John had "been to church" protesting loud enough for all to hear: "Neighbours, do not think that I come to the Church as a reformed protestant, but bear me witness that I come only in obedience to the king's laws." The same return reports the secret baptism of a child born in 1607. Altogether there were five sons and three daughters: John, born in 1592: Thomas, Michael and Richard, all born before 1604. Mary and Martha were over nine years of age in 1609, the three boys younger. The child who was born in 1607 was probably Margaret. William was the youngest.

John, the eldest, carried on the family: of him later. **Thomas**,³³ in 1633, at the

age of thirty, entered the English College at Rome, under the name of Francis Gray. He was ordained priest in 1637, and afterwards became confessor to the Poor Clares at Gravelines. He is described as a man of exemplary character and piety, but "little suited for study." He had, at the time he entered the college, three brothers and two sisters, all Catholics.

Michael, ³⁴ his brother, born in Lancashire, entered the Society of Jesus in 1622, also taking the *alias* of Gray. (Gray was the married name of their cousin Elizabeth, the Elizabeth, probably, who was daughter to William "the younger.") Fr. Michael was sent on the English Mission in 1632, and in 1642 was serving in the Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire District. He died, the 16th November, 1648, "in the house of Lady Digby," of the family who had been friends of his uncle, John Gerard.

Richard ³⁵ must have been the one who was "a general in the army of the King of Spain and was killed." **William**, the youngest, after the death of his parents (his father died in 1614, and it seems likely that the mother was dead also), came under the protection of his aunt, Dame Elizabeth Freville, who supported him during his apprenticeship and left money to set him up in business. She does not seem to have influenced his religious views, for by the statement of his brother Thomas, the family were all Catholics in 1633, three years after her death. He became a merchant in the city of Newcastle.

John Jenison, the eldest of this generation, succeeded to Walworth on the death of his father in 1614, but for a considerable part of his life he does not seem to have lived there. During the Civil Wars he was greatly impoverished for his recusancy, but the only notice regarding him in Durham Sequestration Books is a statement that in 1638 he sold his life interest in Carlbury and Walworth, for the sum of £3,000, to Christopher Bierley. ³⁶ His wife was a Yorkshire woman, Margaret Bowes of Ellerbeck, ³⁷ and at least one of his sons was born in Yorkshire. Possibly he made his home there.

There were six sons of the marriage, and a daughter. John was the heir. **Michael**, educated in Flanders and at the college of La Flèche in France, was admitted to the English College at Rome in 1649, under the name of Michael Gray *alias* Gerard, and we cannot do better than quote the account of his family which he gave on that occasion. He stated: ³⁸ "I am twenty-one years of age, born in the county of Durham,

about Christmas day. I am of a family of the higher class. My father is an esquire, and is living; my mother's name was Bowes, of a respectable family, and has now been dead seventeen years. They were always Catholics. My father was sufficiently well-to-do before the civil war, but his loss in these wretched times, on account of his profession of the Catholic faith, was so great that he has not sufficient now to enable him to live up to his rank. . . . My eldest brother [John] for the last six years has, with his wife, been a Protestant, induced to leave his religion only from fond affection; the next is in the English College in Spain, and I believe is now a priest. I had others, but they died in their infancy, except two, one of whom [Thomas] after making his studies at St. Omer and Rome, went to England and died there, the other [Francis] likewise died at home." Michael Jenison, who gave this account, was ordained priest in Rome, the 2nd March, 1653, and sent to England a year later. He was afterwards chaplain to the Benedictine nuns at Ghent, and accompanied them in 1662 to their new foundation at Dunkirk, where he remained.

The career of the son who was at college in Spain has not been traced, but he may have been the **George Jenison** who died unmarried at home and was buried at Heighington in 1655. The **Thomas Jenison** *alias* Gray referred to above was admitted to the college at Rome in 1634,³⁹ aged nineteen, but suffered from ill health which unfitted him for study. At the end of two years he left for England, where he died a few months later. He was a skilled violinist.

Before going on to the next owner of Walworth, it is convenient to mention two other Jenisons, Jesuits, whose exact relationship is unknown, but who were obviously closely related to the Walworth Jenisons. They were possibly sons of John and Jane Jenison of Carlbury, or grandsons of Michael and Martha Jenison. These were **Fr. Ralph Jenison**,⁴⁰ born in county Durham in 1635 (or 1638), and **Fr. Thomas Jenison**, also a native of Durham, born in 1643. The former entered the Society about 1658, under the name of Freville, and was professed the 15th August, 1674. The scene of his labours was the Durham District, of which he was long Superior. He died at the Harber House, the residence of the Catholic Forcers, the 19th March, 1719, at the age of eighty-four, and was buried there. His name occurs among the members of the Confraternity *de Bona Morte* of the old Elvet Jesuit Mission in Durham, and against it is written: "*ob. sanctissime* 8 Martii 1718." [o.s.]

Fr. Thomas Jenison *alias* Freville,⁴¹ educated at Valladolid, entered the Society

in Spain in 1664 and was professed of the four vows, 1681. He laboured in Brussels, among the English and Irish troops, and also at Loreto and Paris. While a missionary in the Suffolk District in 1684, he acted as occasional confessor to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. He died in London in 1701.

We learned from Michael Jenison's account that John, his eldest brother, had apostatized "only from fond affection." Whether this means under pressure from his wife or out of consideration for her, does not appear. She was Catherine Ironmonger, of Eccleshall in Staffordshire, widow of John Goldsmith, and if not Catholic herself, certainly had Catholic connections. She was a near relative of Fr. William Ireland S.J., victim of Titus Oates (it will be remembered that Ironmonger was his *alias*), and was probably connected with another martyr, B. Edmund Genings, who also used the *alias* of Ironmonger, and claimed kinship with that family.⁴² She and her husband however, conformed.

Thomas,⁴³ their eldest son, born in 1643 and educated a Protestant, returned to the Faith in adolescence, renounced his rights as heir, and departed overseas for St. Omer. In 1663 he entered the novitiate at Watten, and worked hard, studying and teaching: he excelled particularly in mathematics. In 1675 he was sent upon the English Mission and posted to the Oxford District.

During his absence abroad his father had remarried (Elizabeth Pearson was his wife's name), and returned to the practice of his religion. When Thomas came home to Walworth he found the situation greatly changed. Robert, his eldest brother, was away in London, studying law. William and Michael were eager to join the Society; they entered together in the September of 1675.⁴⁴ There were two, possibly more, sisters now grown up; and there was a nurseryful of motherless little ones, the last of whom, Augustine, had cost his mother her life only a few months before.

Fr. Thomas Jenison was one of the first victims of the Titus Oates Plot. He was acting at the time as chaplain to Sir Philip and Lady Tyrwhitt of Lincolnshire, and it was in their London house that he was arrested, September 1678, by the arch-plotter himself, conducted on foot, through pouring rain, to Newgate, and there lodged under the custody of a rude and inhuman keeper. During the state of confusion which ensued,⁴⁵ there were dire happenings at Walworth. The chaplain, John Smith *vere* Portman,⁴⁶ seceded from the Church, carried his host along with

him, and married a daughter of the house. Robert also, apostatized under his influence, and turned informer. At the trial of Sir George Wakeman in July, 1679, he gave evidence calculated to substantiate the existence of the Plot, and swore that, in conversations with himself, Fr. Ireland had admitted complicity and Thomas Jenison had implied it. He even went to his brother in prison and tried to get him to acknowledge his guilt and sue for mercy. That interview, and the news of his father's apostasy, broke the priest's heart. He wrote his brother a dignified letter of remonstrance and condemnation.⁴⁷ Shortly afterwards he succumbed to the foul conditions of Newgate and died, the 27th November, 1679.

John Jenison, their father, who seems to have been a man of weak rather than abandoned character, realised all too late the evil that had befallen his house. He turned away his daughter and the chaplain; shortly afterwards he died (1680). After his death, under a decree in Chancery, Walworth was divided. Robert took the mansion and the greater part of the estate, John, eldest son of the second marriage, the dower house, henceforth known as Low Walworth, and the remainder. Robert speedily sold his portion to a distant relative, one of the (Protestant) Jenisons of Newcastle, and left the country. He died in 1688.

When, in December, 1680, there was returned a list of all the Papists in the county of Durham,⁴⁸ the only Jenison returned for Walworth was **Elizabeth**. She must have been the "heroic maiden, who showed the courage of a man, was constant in the Faith, and rose above his (Smith's) persuasions, prayers and threats." She it must have been who, after her father's death, brought up her young half-brothers and sisters. There seems to have been no one else. Her own two brothers, the Jesuits, were abroad. **William**⁴⁹ died in England, a priest, in 1683. **Michael**,⁵⁰ ordained in 1683, was professed of the four vows, 1693. In 1701 and for many years afterwards he was a missionary in the Hampshire District, and about 1724 was Chaplain to the Webbe family of Canford in Dorset. He died at Watten in 1735.

In 1689, when her house, like those of all the Papists in the county, was searched for arms and ammunition,⁵¹ Elizabeth Jenison was living in the City of Durham. The previous year had seen her two half-sisters depart for the Benedictine convent at Cambray; **Margaret** was eighteen years of age, **Monica** fifteen.⁵² The former returned home, the latter, as **Dame Augustine**, was professed in 1693 and lived in religion for forty-six years. Their brother **Augustine**,⁵³ the youngest of the

family, entered the college at Douay, under the name of Johnson, the 16th April, 1694. He became a priest and returned to the English Mission in 1701, working in his own county of Durham and in Newcastle. In 1717 he was chaplain to the Lady Mary Radcliffe.

Their eldest brother, **John Jenison** of Low Walworth, and his wife Sarah Williams, had a family of six. Both the sons married. It was the first in many generations which did not include a priest among its members. Of the four daughters, however, all educated at Cambray, two became nuns: **Monica**⁵⁴ a Benedictine (another Dame Augustine), and **Anne**⁵⁵ a Blue Nun at Paris.

The next generation, children of **John Jenison** and Elizabeth Sandford, included a daughter **Winifred** who gave two sons to the priesthood, **John**,⁵⁶ a secular, and **Philip** (Fr. Pius Potier O.P.); while among the sons the Jesuit tradition was revived, three of them entering the Society. **John**⁵⁷ professed in 1763, was a classical scholar of distinction, who in later years became mentally deranged and ended his days in a mental home. **James**,⁵⁸ after labouring many years on the English Mission, died at Bath in 1799. **Augustine**,⁵⁹ after serving at Ellingham in Northumberland and at Wardour Castle, had a serious downfall. He apostatized, and entered the ministry of the church of Scotland; but the grace of God triumphed in the end. He was stricken with compunction, in the very act of mounting the pulpit; cut himself free from his entanglements, and spent the remainder of his days in most sincere and humble penitence.

Francis, the brother of these three, was the last of his family to enjoy Walworth. He sold the property in 1775, and went abroad, to enter the service of the Elector Palatine. His large family became dispersed through half the capitals of Europe; but they had ceased to be of Walworth, and so do not come within the scope of this account.

1. Surtees Society, vol.142, p.3.
2. Thomas Jenison had two brothers, who settled in the city of Newcastle upon Tyne: one founded a Catholic, the other a Protestant family. None of these are included in the present study, which deals with Walworth only.
3. S.P. Dom.Eliz. 199/73.
4. C.R.S.II, 225, 230.
5. Dom. Eliz.-Jas.I add. (1580-1625) 32/15 ii.
6. Father of B. Ralph Corby.
7. C.R.S. V, 251.
8. Dom. Jas.I 19/26.
9. *ibid.* 31/16.
10. C.R.S. XXXIV, 33.
11. E.377/41 Ebor.
12. C.R.S. XXXIV, 60 *et seq.* 383 *et seq.*
13. Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs*, pp. 151, 154.
Camm, *Nine Martyr Monks*, p. 153 f.n.
14. Foley, *Records*, V, 632, 633: VII, 400, 401.
15. *Compositions for Recusancy*, Ushaw MSS. p.86.
16. Sharp MSS. 110 (The Prior's Kitchen, the College, Durham).
17. Foley, *op. cit.* VI, 182.
18. E.377/9.
19. C.R.S. II, 286.
20. Dom. Eliz. 251/14, quoted in Foley, V, 471.
21. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, (1924 ed.) p.251.
22. Cal. Acts of Privy Council (1617-19), pp. 398, 471.
23. *ibid.* (1619-1621), pp. 204, 243.
24. *ibid.* (1621-1623), p.113.
25. Dom. Jas.I, 127/97.
26. Cal. Acts of Privy Council, (1621-1623), p.135.
27. Surtees Society, vol.142, p.223.
28. Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, p.429: (but the Margaret of Boughton may have been Margaret daughter of Thomas Jenison and Mary Goderrick, whose home was at Irchester, Northants.)
29. C.R.S. V, 70.
30. Foley, V, 634.
31. Sharp MSS. (The Prior's Kitchen, the College, Durham).
32. *ibid.*
33. Foley, V, 633: VI, 334: C.R.S. XL, 8.
34. *ibid.* III, 117 f.n. VII, 399.
35. *ibid.* III, 118.
36. Surtees Soc. vol.111, p. 141.
37. For the recusancy of her family *cf. Biog. Studies*, II, 142.
38. Foley, VI, 375.

39. *ibid.* VI, 338.
40. *ibid.* V, 635: VII, 400.
41. *ibid.* V, 634, VII, 401: C.R.S. XXVIII, 170.
42. John Genings: *Life and Death of Edmund Genings* (1887 ed.) p.6.
43. Foley, V, 614 *et seq.* VII, 401.
44. *ibid.* VII, 400, 402.
45. With reference to the division among the Catholics over the question of the oath of Allegiance, see letter of Fr. Ralph Jenison, Foley, V, 635.
46. C.R.S. XL, 88: XLVII, 130 f.n.
47. *ibid.* XLVII, 287 *et seq.*
48. Sharp MSS. 79.
49. Foley, VII, 402.
50. *ibid.* VII, 400: V, 636.
51. Sharp MSS. 110.
52. C.R.S. XIII, 55.
53. Knox, *Douay Diaries*, 86: C.R.S. XXVIII, 15.
54. Birt, *Obit Book of English O.S.B.*, 225.
55. C.R.S. VIII, 375.
56. Knox, *op. cit.* 79.
57. Foley, VII, 399.
58. *ibid.*
59. *ibid.* and Kirk, *Biographies*, 137.

THOMAS JENISON = ELIZABETH BIRCH

d. 1586

dau. Edw. Birch of Sandon, Beds.

WILLIAM = JANE SCURLOCK
"elder"

JOHN = MARY GERARD

WILLIAM = FRANCES LESTRANGE
"younger" ↑ROBERT
b. 1590.
S.J.JOHN = JANE HALL
(Carlbury)

JOHN = MARG. BOWES

THOMAS
sec. pr.MICHAEL
S.J.

RICHARD

MARY

MARTHA

MARC.

(1) CATH. IRONMONGER = JOHN = (2) ELIZ. PEARSON

b. 1623

MICHAEL
sec. pr.THOMAS
S.J.

ROBERT

WILLIAM
S.J.MICHAEL
S.J.

CATHERINE

ELIZABETH
b. 1651

b. 1644

JOHN = SARAH WILLIAMS

b. 1667

d. 1739

ROBERT

FRANCIS

MARGARET

JOHN = ELIZ. SANDFORD

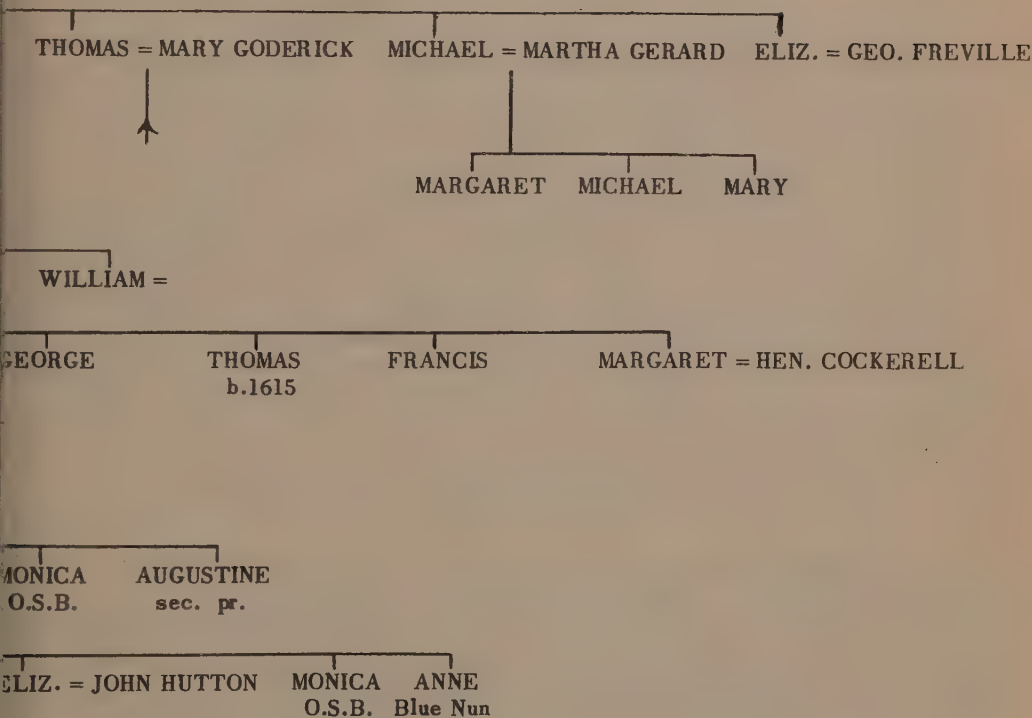
AUGUSTINE = JANE HANCOCK
of Newc. ↑

MARY = FRAN. HUTTON

JOHN
S.J.FRANCIS = CHARLOTTE SMITH
↑AUGUSTINE
S.J.JAMES
S.J.

WINIFRED = JAS. POTIER

JOHN POTIER
sec. pr.PHILIP POTIER
O.P.



FRANCISCAN BOOKS IN ENGLISH, 1559-1640.¹

By A.F. ALLISON

A. Introductory

Very little attention has been given to the bibliography of the English Franciscans in penal times though their literary output was considerable in relation to their numbers. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, as far as the English Province is concerned, Franciscan bibliography begins and ends with Luke Wadding in the seventeenth century. The elementary processes of collecting and sifting evidence have not been carried out, since Wadding's time, and in the few later works of reference which mention individual Franciscan writings there is a great deal of confusion. I shall try, in the present study, to record what evidence there is concerning English books by members of the order between 1559 and 1640 and I shall add some notes on other books which have Franciscan associations. A number of English versions of Franciscan works in other languages were made during this period by Englishmen who were not themselves Franciscans. Some of them present bibliographical problems which I cannot profess to answer, but it seems desirable that whatever evidence exists concerning them should be published.

The Restored English Franciscan Province and the Apostolate of the Press

The first English Franciscan province, founded in the thirteenth century, was suppressed under Henry VIII, restored under Mary and finally dissolved by Elizabeth in 1559. After the dissolution the members dispersed; some fell away and took to secular occupations, others continued to exercise their priestly functions as best they could in Elizabethan England, yet others, desirous above everything of living in community according to the spirit of their founder, went abroad to join foreign houses belonging to the order. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the English Franciscans were able to re-form themselves into an organized body. The chief instrument in the restoration of the province was John Gennings, a convert from Anglicanism who had trained as a secular priest at Douai and come on the mission to England in 1608; he received the Franciscan habit from Fr. William Stanney, the Commissary for England, while on the mission, in about 1610 or a year or two later. After several years of industrious preparation in

gathering recruits, he obtained permission from the Minister General to establish a community of English friars at Douai from which to set about the reorganization of the English province. The foundation of St. Bonaventure's College at Douai in 1618 as an administrative and training centre came as a turning point in the history of the English Franciscans. The college flourished and became the nucleus of the restored province which was formally recognized in 1629.²

As far as we know, no book written in English by a Franciscan appeared in print between 1559 and the end of the sixteenth century. But the new life and vigour which manifested themselves in the early years of the seventeenth century began to find literary expression even before there was any formal cohesion among the members of the restored province. In 1602 or 1603, John Gennings, while still a layman, published his life of his elder brother, Edmund, whose martyrdom for Catholic priesthood in 1591 had been the cause of his own conversion,³ and he republished it in 1614, after he had become a Franciscan, at the Jesuit College press, S. Omer.⁴ Fr. William Stanney, living in hiding in England, composed *A Treatise of Penance*⁵ on the Rule of the Third Order Secular which he adapted to the use of Catholics in England during an era of persecution; it was printed for him in 1617 at Douai by means of the English book-seller and publisher, John Heigham. Fr. Bonaventure Jackson wrote a defence of Catholic doctrine, *Manuductions to the Pallace of Trueth*,⁶ which he published in 1616 at Mechlin where he was living in community with the Flemish Franciscans before he joined John Gennings at Douai.

Fr. Gennings intended St. Bonaventure's to be a house for study as well as for administration and training, but several years were to elapse before the friars established a publishing centre at Douai. The work of reorganising the province and training priests for the mission left little time for writing, and for those few who had the opportunity to write there were, for a while at least, more convenient centres than Douai. Several English Franciscan books were printed at Brussels where a convent of English nuns of the Third Order,⁷ under the jurisdiction of the friars at Douai, was established in 1621. Fr. Francis Bell, the future martyr, was chaplain and spiritual director to the nuns for eight years — from 1623 to 1630 — and he took the opportunity during this period of seclusion to prepare and publish several small books in English. Among other works, he made translations of the Rule of the Third Order as revised by Leo X in 1521⁸ and of Fr. Antonio Daca's life of the Spanish tertiary, Blessed Jane of the Cross,⁹ and he edited and published

a translation by the Abbess of his convent, Sister Catharine Francis, of Fr. Paludan's life of another eminent member of the Third Order, Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal.¹⁰ With one exception the books published by Fr. Bell at this period were printed at Brussels by Jean Pepermans.¹¹

Fr. Bell left the Brussels convent early in 1631 to become Guardian of St. Bonaventure's, Douai, and two years later he was sent on the mission. He published his last book at Douai in 1632,¹² His successor as spiritual director to the nuns at Brussels, Fr. Giles Willoughby, followed Fr. Bell's example of using his leisure to provide spiritual reading for English Catholics. He had long been engaged on a translation of the *Tratado de la Oracion* of the Franciscan mystic, St. Peter of Alcantara, but he had been prevented by his religious duties from completing and publishing it, as he tells us in the dedicatory epistle to the book when it finally appeared. At Brussels he found the time which he so badly needed to finish it and it was printed in 1632 at the press of the widow of Hubert Antony.¹³ But this early promise that the convent of St. Elizabeth at Brussels might in time become a centre of literary activity for the whole province was not to bear fruit. After Willoughby's translation of St. Peter of Alcantara only one other work was published for the English Franciscans at Brussels, as far as we know – a translation of Matthieu's life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, printed by the widow of Hubert Antony in 1633.¹⁴ In 1635 Willoughby was sent on the mission to England, and his successor, Fr. George Porret of the Irish Province, arrived to find the city ravaged by plague. In the course of the next few months, between June and October 1635, plague carried off five of the nuns and Fr. Porret himself.¹⁵ The effects of sickness were aggravated by the hardships caused by the outbreak of war between France and Spain; a French army invaded the Spanish Netherlands in 1635, materials became scarce, prices rose and conditions of living in the capital became so intolerable for the nuns that they eventually sought permission to find a home elsewhere. They left in 1637 and settled at Nieuport in Flanders. There was no printer in Nieuport at this period; the nearest centres of printing were Bruges and Ypres, many miles away.

Like many another group of Catholic exiles in the Spanish Netherlands in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, the English Franciscans were indebted from time to time to that indefatigable publisher of Catholic books, John Heigham of S. Omer. Heigham published several Franciscan books, including three which were the work of members of the English Province: Fr. William Stanney's

Treatise of Penance, printed in 1617; Fr. Francis Bell's translation of Dacca's life of Blessed Jane of the Cross, 1625; and Fr. George Perrot's translation of Cambi's *Septem Tubae*, 1626.¹⁶ We do not know the exact date of Heigham's death, but it was probably not later than 1631 or 1632, after which his business seems to have closed down. The dissolution of this flourishing publishing concern, which in just under twenty years was responsible for the production of some sixty to seventy books of devotion and controversy for the English Catholics, was a very great blow to the Catholic cause. For the English friars, it occurred just at the time when they were beginning to find it difficult to have books printed at Brussels.

With the increasing difficulty of printing books at Brussels and S. Omer, the English Franciscans seem to have come to realize the necessity of having a publishing centre at Douai in connection with their house of studies. They may well have been influenced by the example of the Irish friars who had set up a press in their college at Louvain for printing Catholic books in Irish. At the intermediate Chapter held at London in 1632 it was decided to set up a printing press at St. Bonaventure's to serve the needs of the English mission, and Fr. Bonaventure of St. Thomas [Clarke], who had been companion to Fr. Bell at Brussels, was appointed to take charge of it.¹⁷ As far as is known, however, nothing came of the decision. It is very doubtful whether a press and founts of type were ever purchased for the college. All we know of this episode in the history of St. Bonaventure's is the bare fact that it was unsuccessful. Fr. Bonaventure Clark was sent on the mission to England in March 1633 after less than a year at Douai, and for another two years no English Franciscan books at all appear to have been printed. In 1635 the friars began a brief but fruitful partnership with one of the town printers, Martin Bogard.

Martin Bogard was the son of a successful Douai printer, Jean Bogard, who died in 1627 leaving his business to his two sons, Martin and his elder brother, Pierre. The brothers carried on the business together till 1630 when Martin set up on his own at the sign "Aux Parisiens."¹⁸ To judge by the books which have survived bearing his imprint, Martin seems to have printed very little after he started business on his own. Duthilloeul, in his *Bibliographie Douaisienne* (1842), records only six books from his press between 1630 and 1634. None of the books recorded by Duthilloeul has any English associations, but we can add two English books of this period which bear his imprint, both of them connected with the English Benedictine monastery of St. Gregory at Douai: Viscountess Falkland's translation

from Cardinal Du Perron, *The Reply of the Cardinal of Perron to the Answere of the King of Great Britaine*, 1630,¹⁹ and the first part of a work by the Benedictine, Thomas Buckland, entitled *A Plaine Pathway to Heauen*, 1634.²⁰ Duthilloeul records nothing printed by Bogard after 1634, and Lepreux, in his *Gallia Typographica* (1909) concludes that Bogard must have died in that year. But in 1635 Bogard printed several books for the English Franciscans at St. Bonaventure's. Six books in all are known to have been printed at his press for the college, five of which are extant; of these five, three bear his imprint and the date 1635, one bears his imprint and the date 1636, one bears his widow's imprint and the date 1636.

This sudden flowering of Franciscan literary activity at Douai in 1635 and 1636 was due in large measure to Fr. Angelus Mason who was Vicar and Master of Novices at St. Bonaventure's from 1634 to 1637. A man of great energy and resourcefulness, the historian of the Province and one of its most prolific writers, Mason devoted himself unreservedly to the ideal of making the college a worthy centre of Franciscan learning to supply the spiritual and intellectual needs of the English mission. Most of his own writing belongs to a later period but his earliest publications are to be found among the little group of books printed at Bogard's press at Douai. Of the six Franciscan books known to have been printed at that press, four are by him; two are Latin works, *Sacrarium Priuilegiorum quorundam Seraphico Patri S. Francisco . . . indultorum*, 1636, and *Quaestionum Theologicarum Resolutio* (date uncertain); one is an English translation, *The Rule and Testament of the Seraphical Father S. Francis*, 1635; and one is an original work in English, *A Manuell of the Arch-Confraternitie of the Cord of the Passion*, 1636. The other two books in the group are, a translation by a nun of the convent of Poor Clares at Aire, of Francois Hendricq's life of St. Clare, and a posthumous edition of Viscount Montague's translation of St. Bonaventure's life of St. Francis — both printed in 1635.²¹

In 1636, according to Lepreux, the widow of Martin Bogard gave up the business to a certain Denys Hudsebaut whom she probably married. After this her relationship with St. Bonaventure's seems to have come to an end, though Hudsebaut published one English book in 1638, *The Misticall Crowne of the Blessed Virgin Mary*,²² which may possibly be a Franciscan translation. With this one possible exception there seems to have been no Franciscan printing at Douai between 1636 and 1640. One reason was probably internal. In 1637 Fr. Angelus Mason, who had been Vicar

and Novice Master at St. Bonaventure's, was appointed Guardian, and henceforward much of his time must have been taken up with administrative matters. During his first year of office, in addition to the normal administrative duties, he had the responsibility of moving the nuns of the Third Order from Brussels to Nieuport in Flanders. The nuns have recorded in their Book of Clothings that the success of the move, which took five and a half months to complete, was due entirely to Fr. Mason who financed it himself and overcame the considerable practical difficulties almost single-handed.²³

A second reason for the silence of the English Franciscans between 1636 and 1640 was more general and affected the whole of the English Catholic propaganda movement in the Spanish Netherlands. In 1635 Richelieu had entered the war – which we now know as the Thirty Years' war – on the side of the Protestant princes against Spain, with the result that the southern provinces of the Netherlands adjacent to the French frontier, where most of the centres of printing for the English exiles were situated, became a theatre of fighting. The tide of war swept backwards and forwards bringing civilized life to a standstill in towns which found themselves in its way. Labour and materials were scarce, prices mounted steeply and printing costs, always heavy, became prohibitive. At S. Omer, only about fifty miles from Douai, we know that the price of labour and of paper had doubled by as early as the middle of 1636,²⁴ while from 1637 to 1639 even the Jesuit College press was practically immobilized.²⁵ When one recalls the expenses and the risks involved in transporting Catholic books to England and marketing them, it is hardly to be wondered at that the additional burden caused by the sudden rapid increase in the cost of production proved too much for a poor community such as that of St. Bonaventure's. In 1640, the last year with which we are here concerned, the widow of Mark Wyon at Douai printed a single English Franciscan book, Fr. Robert Howard's *A Sacred Poeme describing the Miraculous Life and Death of . . . S. Marie of Aegipt*. The cost of printing was paid by Robert Howard's grandfather, Lord William Howard of Naworth, and it was considerable: £15 for a small quarto volume of sixty-eight pages.²⁶

*Luke Wadding, the Primary Authority on Franciscan Writers
of the Early Seventeenth Century*

Before we begin to look at some of the internal characteristics of books published by the English friars of the Second Province, we must first say a word about Luke Wadding, the Irish friar to whom we owe most of our information about Franciscan writings at this period.

Luke Wadding,²⁷ the Franciscan annalist and bibliographer, was born at Waterford in 1588. He left Ireland at the age of sixteen and went to study in Portugal, joining the Franciscan order as a novice in 1607. He was ordained priest in 1613 and soon established for himself a great reputation as a scholar. He was made professor of theology at the College of St. Francis, Salamanca, in 1617, and in the following year Philip III of Spain appointed him theologian to a special embassy which he was sending to Pope Paul V to promote the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. His office of theologian to the embassy kept Wadding at Rome for thirty-nine years — till his death in 1657 — but it allowed him a good deal of freedom and left him time and energy to devote to his writings and to the great practical work of his life, the establishment of St. Isidore's College for the Irish Franciscans, which under his charge soon became a centre of learning for the whole order.

Soon after his arrival in Rome in 1618 Wadding set about to collect the materials for the history and bibliography of the order. At his request, the Franciscan General wrote to his Provincials in 1619 asking them to detail suitable men to begin the work of transcribing documents bearing on the history of their provinces. As the work proceeded, the copies were sent to Rome and deposited at St. Isidore's for Wadding's use. The fruits of his labour in the historical field are to be seen in his *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, published in eight volumes between 1625 and 1654, carrying the history of the order down to the year 1540.

In his bibliographical work, Wadding showed the same thoroughness as in his study of the history of the order. His *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, published in 1650, is a monument of patient research. In his preface to the reader, after referring briefly to earlier writers who had treated of the subject, he speaks of the extensive additions he has been able to make by exploring the contents of libraries and scrutinizing records himself. For information about books published in the

seventeenth century he was frequently able to consult the authors themselves. He spared no pains to find out the facts; as he says himself in his preface: "Nulla quidem neglecta est diligentia vniuersos perquirendi, vbique pulsaui, vbique quaesiui."

Scriptores Ordinis Minorum is a comprehensive catalogue of the works of Franciscan writers, including nuns of the Second and Third orders, and Capuchins. Wadding received most of his information about the writings of the English friars and of the Franciscan nuns after the main text of his work had been set up in type – probably in 1649 or early 1650 – in time for him to include it in an "Appendix authorum quorum notitia ad nos post opus impressum peruenit" which was printed at the end of the main body of the book. The information may well have been sent to him from St. Bonaventure's at Douai, but whatever the source we can rely on it as trustworthy, for Wadding was acting with the full authority of the General of his order in seeking out the materials he needed. As we shall see when we come to examine individual entries, though he may occasionally be guilty of a slip of the pen or even of a false inference, his word, when it can be tested by independent evidence, is generally found to be reliable. This being so, we shall follow the principle of accepting his authority for statements for which there appears to be no independent corroboration in every case where we have no evidence to the contrary.

Since Wadding's time there have been several major contributions to general Franciscan bibliographical study,²⁸ but none of them adds anything of value to what Wadding has told us about the writings of the English Franciscans in the early seventeenth century. It would seem from this that Wadding's successors, though they had access to Franciscan archives many of which have since perished, could find no documentary sources which threw any further light on the subject.

The arrangement of Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* is alphabetical under names in religion, and there are indexes under surnames, nationalities and subject-matter. Under each heading Wadding gives a brief biography and all the information he has been able to acquire about the writer's works, including, in the case of rare manuscripts, the location of copies. In the case of printed books, he gives, in addition to the title, the date and place of printing, the name of the printer and the format, when these are known to him. In accordance with the custom of the time, he translates into Latin the titles of books written in the vernacular, but he indicates in a note the language of the original.

Some Characteristics of Franciscan Books

In the books of the period which can be identified without any doubt as the work of English Franciscans it is possible to discern certain common characteristics which we have to bear in mind when we come to consider doubtful attributions. As regards the content of their writings, it can be said in general that the friars were more concerned at this period with ministering to the spiritual needs of Catholics than with engaging in controversy; most of their published works are devotional and, as we should expect, they are often recognizably Franciscan. As we have already seen, there are translations of Franciscan ascetical works into English, lives of Franciscan saints, works on the Rules of St. Francis and of St. Clare, and on the Franciscan sodality, the Confraternity of the Cord.

A marked feature of the published writings of the English Franciscans is the scrupulous way in which canonical requirements regarding approbation are observed. Many books intended for the English mission at this period were printed without any visible sign that they had been approved by an ecclesiastical censor, for it was often necessary, owing to the activities of government agents, to remove all clues which might connect a book with the press, the college, or even the locality from which it came. But the usual Franciscan practice was to print the approbation in full. With very few exceptions the books known to be by Franciscans have an approbation of some kind, and we must bear this fact in mind when we are considering doubtful cases.

The Franciscan writers did not, as a rule, take a great deal of trouble to conceal their identities. We find in their works little of the sort of elaborate artifice — the use of false names and initials, for instance — which was common among Catholic writers engaged in more dangerous, controversial work. The Franciscans usually reveal their initials, if not their names, but the initials may be those of a name in religion or of an alias by which the writer is commonly known. When initials are used, they are frequently qualified in some way, by the word "Brother" or its abbreviation "Br." for instance, or — when they occur at the end of a dedicatory epistle — by a phrase which is very characteristic of Franciscan authorship: "Your Poor Beadsman . . ."

A word must be said here about Franciscan names in religion, since several practices were in use at this period, and the same man may appear sometimes under

one form of name, sometimes under another. Many of the English Franciscans followed the Spanish practice of adopting two saints' names: Aegidius of S. Ambrosio, Hieronymus a S. Bonaventura, Georgius a S. Gulielmo. Others followed the Belgian practice of taking a saint's name and using it in combination with their own surname. Some of the early members of the restored province combined the two: Richard Mason, for example, took the name Angelus a S. Francisco, but he was commonly known as Angelus Mason. Occasionally we find an English friar following the Italian practice of combining a saint's name with an epithet indicating place of birth. There is one instance of an English friar who adopted all three practices to serve different purposes: Christopher Davenport took the name in religion Franciscus a S. Clara and was generally known either by this name or as Francis Davenport, but in some of his books he used the name Franciscus Coventriensis.

B. Catalogue of Franciscan Books

This catalogue includes books with Franciscan associations, such as translations by laymen and others from Franciscan originals. The arrangement is chronological. In transcriptions, omissions in the body of the title are shown by the conventional three dots, but titles are sometimes curtailed without indication. The bibliographical notes to each entry are intentionally brief, detailed discussion being reserved for the Commentary in Section C. Up to four locations are given in the notes to each entry; where more than four copies are known to exist, the fact is recorded by the + sign following the last location given.

Date		Serial No.
1584	<i>The contempte of the world, and the vanitie thereof, written by the reuerent F. Diego de Stella, of the order of S. Fr. 12^o n.p.</i> 1584.	1

A translation, through an Italian version, of *Libro de Vanidad del Mundo* by the Spanish Franciscan, Diego de Estella. The translator, who signs the dedicatory epistle with the initials G.C., was probably George Cotton of Warblington Hall, Hants. Printed at Fr. Persons' press, Rouen. STC.10541 (STC. omits date). Copies: British Museum; Lambeth Palace; Ushaw; Fort Augustus.

- 1604** *The contempt of the world, and the vanities therof, etc.* 2
 8°. Doway, Laurence Kellam, 1604.
 Another edition of No.1. Not in STC. Copy: Stonyhurst.
- [1604?]** *[The contempt of the world, etc.]* 8°. [Douai, Laurence Kellam, 3
 1604?]
 Another edition of nos.1 & 2. Not in STC. Copies: Farm St. (wants t.p.); Fort Augustus (wants t.p.).
- [c. 1603-10]** 4
The miroure of the blessed life of our lorde and sauioure Iesus Christe. Written in Latin by the venerable and famous doctor Saint Bonaventure. Newlie set forth in English. 12°. n.p.d.
 [c. 1603-10.]
 A translation of, *Meditationes Vitae Christi* formerly attributed to St. Bonaventure. This is an edition of a fifteenth century translation made by the Carthusian, Nicholas Love, Prior of Mount Grace. STC. 3268/3269 (identical). Copies: British Museum; Stonyhurst; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington (formerly Harmsworth).
- 1609** *The rule of perfection contayning a breif and perspicuous* 5
abridgement of all the wholle spirituall life . . . Composed by the Ve. Br. (Benet) heertofores (William Fitchie) Englishman; preacher, of the holie order of the Capuchins of Saint Francis.
 8°. Roan, Cardin Hamillion, 1609.
 Parts 1 and 2 only; part 3 was not published. STC.10928. Copies: British Museum; Syon Abbey; Cambridge University; Brompton Oratory; +
- 1610** *The life of the holie father S. Francis writen by Saint* 6
Bonauenture, and as it is related by the reuerend father Aloysius Lipomanus Bishop of Veron. In his fourth tome of the life of saintes. 8°. Douay, Laurence Kellam, 1610.
 A translation of *Legenda S. Francisci*. Translated by Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague. STC. 3271. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Brompton Oratory; Stonyhurst; +

- 1614** *The life and death of Mr. Edmund Geninges priest, crowned with martyrdom at London, the 10. day of Nouember, in the yeare M.D.XCI.* 4°. S. Omers, Charles Boscard, 1614. 7
 The author was the Martyr's brother Fr. John Gennings O.F.M. founder of the Second Province. STC. 11728. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; St. Edmund's, Ware; Stonyhurst; +
- 1616** *Manuductions to the pallace of trueth.* By F.B. Obseruant. 8°. Mackline, Henry Iaye, 1616. 8
 By Bonaventure Jackson, O.F.M. Not in STC. Copies: Farm St; Ushaw; Blairs College, Aberdeen; Folger (formerly Harmsworth); +
- 1617** *A treatise of penance, with an explication of the rule, and maner of liuing, of the brethren and sisters, of the third order of S. Francis; commonly called, of the order of penance ...* By F.W.S. Strict. Obser. Whereunto is added, the epistle and annotations vpon this rule, of the reuerend father, Fa. Peter Gonzales. 8°. Douay, Iohn Heigham, 1617. 9
 By William Stanney, O.F.M. STC.23212. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Cambridge Univ.; Ushaw; +
- 1618** *The chronicle and institution of the order of the seraphicall father S. Francis ... Set foorth first in the Portugall, next in the Spanish, then in the Italian, lastlie in the French, and now in the English tongue.* 4°. S. Omers, Iohn Heigham, 1618. 10
 A translation of *Primeira parte das Chronicas da Ordem dos frades Menores*, by the Portuguese Franciscan, Marcos da Silva, Bishop of Oporto - commonly known as Mark of Lisbon. The translator was a layman, William Cape. There is a dedicatory epistle by Francis Davenport O.F.M. Not in STC. Copies: British Museum; Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford; Lanherne convent; Franciscan convent, Goodings (formerly Taunton); +
- 1618** *The safegarde from ship-wracke, or heauens hauen ... Compiled by I.P. Priest.* 8°. Douay, Peter Telu, 1618. 11
 By John Pickford, who afterwards joined the English Franciscans, taking the name in religion Hieronymus a S. Bonaventura. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Cambridge University; Stonyhurst; +

- [1621] [A translation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* formerly attributed to St. Bonaventure. By John Heigham.] 8°. [1621.] 12
- The only copy known, that at Stonyhurst, wants the titlepage. Not in STC.
- 1621 *The rule of our holy mother S. Clare. Translated into English.* 24°. n.p., 1621. 13
- Extracted from the eighth book of Mark of Lisbon's Chronicle (see no. 10) in William Cape's translation. Printed at the English College press, S.Omer, Not in STC. Copy: Irish Franciscans, Killiney.
- [1621] *The declarations and ordinances made vpon the rule of our holy mother, S. Clare.* 24°. n.p.d. [1621] 14
- For the translator, see commentary. Printed at the English College press, S. Omer. Perhaps not issued separately from no. 13. Not in STC. Copy: Irish Franciscans, Killiney.
- 1621 *The rule of the holy virgin S. Clare. Togeather with the admirable life, of S. Catharine of Bologna of the same order. Both translated into English.* 16°. n.p. 1621. 15
- Another edition of no.13 with the life of St. Catharine added. For the translator of the life of St. Catharine, see commentary. Printed at the English College press, S. Omer. Not entered separately in STC. Copies: Heythrop; Syon Abbey; New Hall, Chelmsford.
- 1622 *The life of the glorious virgin S. Clare. Togeather with the conuersion, and life of S. Agnes her sister. And of another S. Agnes, daughter to the king of Bohemia. Also the rule of S. Clare. And the life of S. Catharine of Bologna. Translated into English.* 2pt. 16°. n.p. 1622. 16
- The first part consists of extracts from the eighth book of Mark of Lisbon's Chronicle in William Cape's translation. The second part, comprising the Rule of St. Clare and the life of St. Catharine, is a reissue of no.15 with the titlepage unaltered. The whole printed at the English College press, S. Omer. STC. 5350. Copies: Bodleian; Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge. (Delete Beaumont)
- 1622 *The life of our blessed Lord and Sauour Iesus. Gathered, out of the venerable and famous doctor, Saint Bonauenture, and out* 17

of diuers other rare, renowned and catholique doctors ... The second edition. Newly cōposed by Iohn Heigham, and by him also published. 12°. S.Omers, 1622.

Another edition of no.12. STC.13034. Copies: Cambridge University; Farm St; Lanherne convent.

- 1622 *The contempt of the world, and the vanities therof. Written by the reuerend father Diego de Stella ... The third edition.* 8°. S. Omers, for Iohn Heigham, 1622. 18

Another edition of nos. 1-3. STC. 10544. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Cambridge University; Folger (formerly Harmsworth); +

- 1623 *The life of the reuerend Fa. Angel of Ioyeuse Capucin preacher ... Together with the liues of the reuerend fathers, father Bennet Englishman, and father Archangell Scotchman, of the same order. Written first in the Frenche tongue, and now translated into English by R.R.* 8°. Douay, for Iohn Heigham, 1623. 19

A translation of *La Vie du Reuerend Pere, Ange de Joyeuse Predicateur Capucin ... ensemble les vies des RR. PP. P. Benoist Anglois, & P. Archange escossois*, by Jacques Brousse. The translator was Robert Rookwood, a secular priest. STC.3902. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Cambridge University; Stonyhurst; +

- 1624 *The psalter of the B. virgin Mary. Conteyning many deuout prayers & petitions. Composed in the French tongue by a father of Society of Iesus. And translated into English by R.F.* 12°. n.p. 1624. 20

A translation of the *Psalterium Paruum* formerly attributed to St. Bonaventure. The French version was probably by Antoine Sucquet, S.J. The English translator is unidentified. Printed at the English College press, S. Omer. Not in STC. Copies: British Museum; Oscott, English convent, Bruges.

- 1624 *The rule of the religious, of the thirde order of Saint Francis, for both sexes, making the three voves, and liuing together in communitie and cloyster.* 16°. Bruxelles, Ihon Pepermans, 1624. 21

A translation of the Rule of the Third Order as revised by Leo X in

1521 and of the brief of Leo X, dated 31 August 1517, recognising the nuns of the Third Order as true religious. With other matter. The postscript signed: Br. Francis Bell. Not in STC. Copies: British Museum; Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford; Franciscan convent, Goodings (formerly Taunton).

- 1625 *The life of the glorious bishop S. Patricke apostle and primate of Ireland. Togeather with the liues of the holy virgin S. Bridgit and of the glorious abbot Saint Columbe patrons of Ireland.* 4°. S. Omers, for Iohn Heigham, 1625. 22

A translation of *Vita Sancti Patricii* of Jocelinus of Furness. With abridgments in English of the Latin lives of St. Brigid by Cogitosus and John Capgrave, and from the Latin life of St. Columba written by St. Adamnan. The translator, who signs the dedicatory epistle "Fr. B.B. one of the Irish Franciscan Friars at Louain," was Robert Rochford O.F.M. STC. 14626. Copies: British Museum; Cambridge University; Christ Church, Oxford; Cardiff Public Library;+

- 1625 *The historie, life and miracles, extasies and reuelations of the blessed virgin, sister loane, of the Crosse, of the third order of our holy father S. Francis. Composed by the reuerend father, brother Anthonie of Aca ... and translated out of Spanish into English, by a father of the same order.* 8°. S. Omers, for Iohn Heigham, 1625. 23

A translation, by Francis Bell, of Antonio Daca's *Historia, Vida, y Milagros ... de la Bienauenturada Virgen Santa Iuana de la Cruz*. The translator's dedicatory epistle signed: Brother Francis Bell. STC. 6185. Copies: British Museum; Brompton Oratory; Durham University; St. Edmund's, Ware;+

- 1626 *The seauen trumpets of brother Bartholomew Saluthius of the holie order of S. Francis; exciting a sinner to repentance ... Now lately translated out of the Latin, into the English tongue, by Br. G.P. of the same order and obseruance.* 12°. S. Omers, for Iohn Heigham, 1626. 24

A translation of *Septem Tubae Spirituales* by the Italian Franciscan Bartholomew Cambi, in religion Bartholomew a Saluthio. The translator was George Perrot, O.F.M. STC. 4469. Copies: British Museum; Brompton Oratory; Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge; St. Edmund's, Ware (impf);+

- 1628 *A short relation, of the life, virtues, and miracles, of S. Elizabeth called the peacemaker. Queen of Portugall. Of the third rule of S. Francis ... Translated out of Dutch; by sister Catharine Francis, abbess of the English monasterie of S. Francis third rule in Bruxelles. 8°. Bruxelles, Ihon Pepermans, 1628.* 25
- A translation of the life of St. Elizabeth which was published at Brussels, in French, Spanish and Flemish, on the occasion of her canonization, 25 May 1625. The author was the Flemish Franciscan Franciscus Paludanus (van den Broeck). Translated by Catharine Greenbury, in religion Sister Catharine of St. Francis. With a dedicatory epistle by Fr. Francis Bell. STC. 19167. Copy: British Museum.
- 1630 *A shorte declaration, of the arch-confraternitie, of the corde of S. Francis. With the pardons and priuileges thereunto giuen by the sea apostolicke. 24°. n.p. 1630.* 26
- By Francis Bell, O.F.M.? Printed at Brussels by Jean Pepermans. Not in STC. Copy: Franciscan convent, Goodings (formerly Taunton).
- [c.1630-40.] 27
- The rule of perfection ... Composed by the R.F. Benet Capucin, preacher, of the holie order of Saint Francis, now of the prouince of France, heertofore called W. Fitch of Canfield in Essex. 24°. Rouen, for Iohn Cousturier, n.d. [c.1630-40.]*
- Another edition of no.5. STC. 10927. Copies: British Museum; Cambridge University; Brompton Oratory; Ushaw; +
- [1631-2] 28
- La dance machabre or death's duell by W.C. 8°. London, William Stansby, n.d. [1631-2.]*
- With a dedicatory epistle in French to Queen Henrietta Maria signed: "Colman" and a dedicatory verse "To the great Emprise of our little world" signed: "W. Colman". The author was the Franciscan, Walter Colman, in religion Christopher a S. Clara. STC. 5569. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Huntington Library, California.

- 1632 *A golden treatise of mentall praier, with diuerse spirituall rules and directions ... First composed by the venerable and blessed father, Fr. Peter de Alcantara, of the seraphicall order of S. Francis ... Translated into English by G.W. To which is prefixed a breife relation of the life, and death of the same father written by G.W. of the same order and obseruance.* 8°. Bruxelles, widowe of Hubert Antone, called Velpius. 1632. 29
- A translation of *Tratado de la Oracion* of St. Peter of Alcantara. The initials G.W. are those of Fr. Giles Willoughby O.F.M. who signs the dedicatory epistle with his full name. STC. 19794. Copies: British Museum, Bodleian; Downside; Douai Abbey; +
- 1632 *The history of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungary. According to sundry authours who haue authentically written her life, distributed into three bookes. By H.A.* 12°. n.p. 1632. 30
- By Henry Hawkins S.J. St. Elizabeth of Hungary was a Franciscan tertiary; otherwise the book seems to have no Franciscan associations. Printed by Jean Cousturier, Rouen. STC.12957. Copies: British Museum (2); Emmanuel College, Cambridge; St. Edmund's, Ware; Farm St; +
- 1632 *The testament of William Bel. gentleman. Left written in his owne hand. Sett out aboue 33. yeares after his death. With annotations at the end ... By his sonne Francis Bel, of the order of Freers Minors.* 8°. Doway, Balthazar Beller, 1632. 31
- STC. 1802. Copies: British Museum; Downside; Douai Abbey.
- 1633 *The Historie of S. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie. Written in French by Peter Mathieu and translated into English by S^r. T.H.* 8°. Bruxelles, widdow of Hubert Antony, called Velpius, 1633. 32
- A different work from no.30. A translation of *Elizabeth, Fille du Roy d'Hongrie* by Pierre Matthieu. The translator was Sir Thomas Hawkins. The dedicatory epistle to "The Lady Englefield the elder" is signed with the initials: G.P., probably George Perrot O.F.M. STC. 17663. Copy: British Museum.

- 1634** *The life of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. Gathered out of the famous doctor S. Bonauenture ... By I.H. The third edition.* 12°. n.p., 1634. **33**

Another edition of nos. 12, 17. Printed at the English College press, S. Omer. STC. 13035. Copies: Stonyhurst; St. Edmund's, Ware; St. Peter's Winchester; St. Chad's Cathedral Birmingham.

- 1634** *The ransome of time being captiue. Wherein is declared how precious a thing is time, how much he looseth that looseth it, & how it may be redeemed. Written in Spanish, by the R. father Andreas de Soto, confessor to the most excellent Infanta Clara Eugenia. Translated into English by J.H.* 8°. Doway, Gerard Pinsone, 1634. **34**

A translation of *Redencion del Tiempo Cautivo* by the Spanish Franciscan, Andres de Soto. The translator, who signs the dedicatory epistle with his full name, was a layman, Dr. John Hawkins. STC. 22937. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Cambridge University; Heythrop.

- 1635** *The life of the most holy father S. Francis, written, and in one booke compiled, by that famous and learned man S. Bonauenture ... Now lately translated into our English tongue.* 16°. Doway, Martin Bogard, 1635. **35**

Another edition of no. 6. STC. 3272. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian; Milltown Park, Dublin; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington; +

- 1635** *The rule and testament of the seraphical father S. Francis.* 8°. Doway, Martin Bogard, 1635. **36**

A translation of the "Regula" and "Testamentum" of St. Francis and of the "Dicta" of his companion, B. Aegidius of Assisi. Translated by Richard Mason, O.F.M., in religion Angelus a S. Francisco. Perhaps not issued separately from no. 35. Not in STC. Copy: Mapledurham House, Oxfordshire.

- 1635 *The history of the angelicall virgin glorious S. Clare ...* 37
Extracted out of the R.F. Luke Wadding his annalls of the
Freer Minors chiefly by Francis Hendricq and now donne into
English. By sister Magdalen Augustine, of the holy order of
the Poore Clares in Aire. 8°. Douay, Martin Bocart, 1635.
 A translation of *La vie Admirable de Sainte Claire ... Par*
P. Francois Hendricq, religieux de l'Obseruance de S. Francois,
père confesseur des Clarisses de S. Omer. For the translator,
 see commentary. STC. 24924. Copies: British Museum; Bodleian;
 Cambridge University; Farm St; +
- 1636 *A manuell of the arch-confraternitie of the cord of the passion* 38
instituted in the seraphicall order of S. Francis ... By Br.
Angelus Francis, the least of the Frier Minors, Recollects. 2pt.
12°. Doway, Martin Bogart, 1636.
 By Richard Mason, O.F.M., in religion Angelus a S. Francisco. Not
 in STC. Copy: Capuchin friary, Olton, Birmingham.
- 1638 *The liues and singular vertues of saint Elzear, Count of Sabran.* 39
And of his wife the blessed Countesse Delphina ... Written in
French by R.F. Stephen Binet, S.I. And translated into English
by S^r. T.H. 8°. Iohn Cousturier, 1638.
 SS. Elzear and Delphina were Franciscan tertiaries; otherwise the
 book has no Franciscan associations. The author was a Jesuit, the
 translator a layman, Sir Thomas Hawkins. Not in STC. Copies:
 British Museum (2); Brompton Oratory; Bodleian; +
- 1638 *The mistical crowne of the most glorious virgin Marie, translated* 40
out of Latin into English by R.H. 8°. Douay, Dionysius Hudsebaut,
1638.
 A translation of the anonymous medieval text *Corona Mistica Beate*
Marie Virginis Gloriose. The translator was possibly Robert Howard,
 O.F.M., in religion Ludovicus a Nazareth. Not in STC. Copies:
 British Museum; Douai Abbey.
- 1639 *An admirable method to loue, serue and honour the B. Virgin* 41
Mary. With diuers practicablen exercises thereof. Al inriched

with choice examples. Written in Italian by the R.F. Alexis de Salo, Capuchin. And Englished by R.F. 12°. [Rouen,] Iohn Cousturier, 1639.

A translation of *Arte Mirabile per amare, servire et honorare la Gloriosa Vergine Maria*, by the Italian Capuchin, Alessio Segala de Salo. The identity of the English translator is not known. STC. 21628. Copy: Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (For the variant at STC: 21628a, see commentary.)

- 1640 *A sacred poeme describing the miraculous life and death of the glorious conuert S. Marie of Aegipt who passed fortie seauen yeares in the desarts leading a penitentiall life to the astonishment of all succeeding ages. 4°. [Colophon:] Doway, widowe of Mark Wyon, 1640.* 42

By Robert Howard, O.F.M., in religion Ludovicus a Nazareth. STC. 17567. Copies: British Museum; Ushaw; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington; Huntington Library California; Rosenbach Co., New York.

C. Commentary

The numeration follows that of the entries in Section B.

1. The translator's dedicatory epistle is signed: "From the prison Aprilis 7. Anno domini. 1584. nost. capt. 7. Your faythfull well willer and true frende in Christ Iesu. G.C." From this information we can identify him with some probability as George Cotton of Warblington Hall, Hants. Cotton was a staunch recusant and his house was notorious as a refuge for priests. He spent the greater part of his adult life in prison for the faith. The date of his first imprisonment can be narrowed down to a period of two years, his name occurring in a list of prisoners committed to the Fleet for recusancy between 30 April 1577 and 17 April 1579.²⁹ He was still in the Fleet in March 1583.³⁰ The prison certificates for the next few years do not appear to have survived,

but Cotton was still in prison on 7 July 1589, when he petitioned the Privy Council for three months' liberty in order to settle his civil affairs which were in a state of confusion owing to his long captivity.³¹ If he was first committed to prison in 1577, he could say with accuracy on 7 April 1584, when the dedicatory epistle to *The Contempte of the World* was written, that he was in the seventh year of his captivity ("Anno domini.1584. nost.capt. 7"). Cotton was a man of learning and culture and there is evidence that during his imprisonment he had access to books. An inventory taken by the authorities of the small library of Catholic literature which he and his fellow-prisoners were discovered to have collected in their cells has survived among the documents in the Public Record Office; it is undated but has been calendared under July 1582.³² It does not include Estella's *De Contemptu Mundi*, but Cotton may not have acquired this book until later, or, if he did possess a copy when the inventory was taken, he may have succeeded in concealing it from the searchers.

4. There is nothing in the book to suggest that its publication had any connection with the English Franciscans. The dating must be regarded as tentative. The printer can be identified by the ornaments and type as Charles Boscard who worked at Douai from 1592 to 1610 and at S. Omer from 1610 until his death in 1629 when his widow succeeded him. The publisher may have been John Heigham who worked in close association with Boscard for many years, editing and publishing books for English Catholics. Heigham lived at Douai from 1603 to 1613 when he followed Boscard to S. Omer. If he had anything to do with the publishing of the *Miroure*, there is some reason for thinking that the date was between 1603 and 1610, before Boscard left Douai. In his later publications, after he had established himself at S. Omer, it was Heigham's usual practice to give his name in the imprint. It is of interest to note that Heigham later composed his own translation of the original *Meditationes vitae Christi* which was printed for him by Boscard at S. Omer in 1621 (no.12).³³
5. There is a variant in which the statement of authorship on the titlepage reads: "Composed by the R.F. Benet Capucin, preacher, of the holie order of Saint Francis, now of the prouince of France, heertofore called W. Fitch, of Canfield in Essex." This, the more intelligible reading, was adopted in the Rouen edition of c. 1630-40 (no. 27). Of the four copies of the 1609 edition

here listed, those at Cambridge University and Brompton Oratory have the variant reading. In his dedicatory epistle the author says of the book that it was twice "put to print in England where I was then in prison" but that it was "both tymes taken, though it doth not in any wise touch either controuersies or matters of state." The period referred to is 1599-1602. Fitch joined the Capuchins in France and returned to England as a priest in 1599; he was seized on his arrival and imprisoned, but he was released three years later³⁴ and sent back to France where he remained until his death in 1610. No copy of either of the editions printed in England when he was in prison has survived.

Since 1528 the Capuchins have been an autonomous branch of the Franciscan order, their organization being independent of that of the other Friars Minor. There was no English Capuchin province during our period, but several Englishmen went abroad to join foreign houses of the order and one or two of them returned to England as missionaries.

6. This work raises a number of problems to which there seems to be no really satisfactory answer. I propose simply to set out what evidence there is and to suggest one or two possible explanations.

The translation exists in three states differing from one another only in minor points such as an occasional variation in the choice of a word or of the arrangement of clauses within a sentence.

- i) *A manuscript version dated 1604. Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai, MS. no. 426 (2).*

This manuscript is bound with another, a translation by Viscount Montague³⁵ of the greater Psalter of the Blessed Virgin formerly thought to be by St. Bonaventure (MS. no.426(1)). The two manuscripts are bound together in seventeenth century calf with the arms of Viscount Montague stamped in gold on the covers.³⁶ On the endpaper inside the front cover is written in a seventeenth century hand "S. Marie Browne."³⁷ The volume came at some period into the possession of the English College at Douai, whence it passed, with the few manuscripts belonging to the College which survived the French Revolution, to the Municipal Library at Douai.

The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin has a translator's dedicatory epistle "To all his dearly beloued cuntriemen and cuntriwemen," signed by Viscount Montague and dated from Cowdray, his country

mansion near Midhurst, 8 December 1602.³⁸ The Life of St. Francis has a similar dedication by him, dated from his house at St. Mary Overies, Southwark, 25 March 1604. It would seem from these dedications that he intended his translations to be printed, and the whole appearance of the manuscripts suggests that they have been carefully prepared for the press. As far as we know, however, they were not printed until several years later. There is some evidence that the Psalter was in print before the middle of 1609, for on 26 July of that year Sir Julius Caesar made an inventory of Catholic books seized at the house of the Venetian ambassador in London and he included in the list an entry reading "S. Maries Psalters or offices. Many."³⁹ No copy of it appears to have survived and it may well be that the quantity seized at the ambassador's house, which was being used as a distributing centre for books imported illicitly from abroad, constituted the whole impression. The Life of St. Francis was not printed until 1610, as far as we know, and then in rather curious circumstances which we have now to investigate.

ii) *An edition printed by Laurence Kellam at Douai, 1610. (No. 6 in our list.)*

In this edition Viscount Montague's dedicatory epistle is omitted. There is a new dedicatory epistle headed "To the Right Worshipfull and most worthy religious gentlman A.B. all happynes in Christ our Lord wisheth E.H."; it is signed: "Yours obliged in all dutie. E.H."

The initials E.H. are probably those of a certain Edward Hughes who went to Douai and stayed at the English College in October 1609, according to the Douai Diary, for the purpose of seeing through the press some lives of the saints.⁴⁰ The writer of the dedicatory epistle seems to refer to some such proposed publication when he says "I presente vnto you not that vniversalle and most admirable troope of all Gods Saintes (for that these you and others may hereafter by some other meanes receaue) but this one life in particulare, of that most blessed man S. Francis." The identity of this Edward Hughes cannot be established with certainty. There were two priests of the name at this period, both from North Wales. One, a Douai man, was ordained and sent on the mission to England in 1578;⁴¹ it was probably this Edward Hughes who, with nine other priests, was released from

Framingham Castle in 1603 and sent into exile, for the party made their way to Douai where they were welcomed as old alumni, the diarist recording their arrival with the words "redierunt ad nos ... in secundum exilium deportati."⁴² This Edward Hughes returned to the English mission before the end of the same year.⁴³ The other priest of the name was a student of the English College, Seville; he was ordained and sent on the mission to England in 1602.⁴⁴ If the Edward Hughes who went to Douai in 1609 to publish the lives of the saints was a priest, it is more likely that he was an alumnus of Seville than of Douai, for the wording of the entry in the Douai Diary, recording his arrival, suggests that he was a stranger to the college: it refers to him simply as "nomine Eduardus Hughes." After October 1609 there are no further references in the Diary to anyone of the name Edward Hughes or to the proposed publication of the lives of the saints.

In his dedicatory epistle to A.B., E.H. gives no indication that he is aware of the real origin of the translation. He says that he is helping to finance the publication for a poor fellow-countryman of his in exile:

[It] came to my handes by meanes of a poore (yet euer honeste) banished countryman of myne, who wantinge helpe, and meanes, to publish it, I most willingly sett thereunto my helpinge hande to further so good a worke, which being nowe perfected, I commende vnto your selfe, as one selected and chosen by me, worthie in manie respectes before others, desiringe that you woulde vouchsafe to vndertake the patronizinge of this my euer propens duety towards your best deseruinge selfe.

The story may be true. The manuscript which came into the hands of Edward Hughes may have been a copy of the text of the translation alone, without Lord Montague's dedicatory epistle, and he may have been genuinely ignorant of its origin. But there is a further curious circumstance about the new dedicatory epistle which is difficult to explain. The person to whom it is addressed was evidently a Catholic of some importance who had recently suffered heavily for the faith and whose name was on everyone's lips:

... amongst so many seruants of God you haue all ready borne your parte in these afflictions; where-with God is wont to try his best beloued saruants, in so much as all eares are filled with the sound of your valorous courage, in so stoutly enduringe the assalts of your enemie, all tongues speak of it, and all hartes stand amazed at the strangenes of your vertuous life.

It seems hardly possible in the circumstances that the person addressed

should be Viscount Montague himself, yet the above description taken together with the initials A.B. would seem to point to him as the obvious candidate. Montague was regarded as one of the staunchest and most powerful defenders of the Catholic cause among the English nobility, his great mansions in London and in the country being notorious as the haunts of priests and as mass centres for the laity throughout the worst period of persecution, and he himself had already suffered heavily in imprisonment and fines for his adherence to the old faith. But if it is Lord Montague himself to whom the book is dedicated, the dedication must be either a piece of deliberate camouflage - and rather pointless at that - or a most unfortunate blunder.

iii) *An edition printed by Martin Bogard at Douai, 1635. (No.35 in our list.)*

This was a posthumous edition, Anthony Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague, having died in 1629. The epistle by E.H. is omitted and the original dedication by Viscount Montague, with some slight alterations, is restored to its rightful place. There is, in addition, a dedicatory epistle by the "peruser" of the book to Lady Winefred Englefield, signed: "Your Poor Beadsman F.C." The identity of the "peruser" cannot be established with certainty, but he was undoubtedly a Franciscan. He may have been Christopher Davenport, in religion Franciscus a S. Clara or Franciscus Coventriensis, whom we shall mention in connection with *The Historie of S. Elizabeth Daughter of the King of Hungary* (no.32). Gillow is clearly making a wild guess when he says that the initials refer "most probably" to the Benedictine, Cuthbert Fursdon, who "is known to have resided with Lord Montague."⁴⁵ I can find no evidence for this last statement in the sources which Gillow quotes. In any case it is hardly likely that the work was promoted by a Benedictine, for the approbation is signed by John Gennings, the Provincial of the English Franciscans.

Lady Winefred Englefield, to whom the book is dedicated, was the wife of Sir Francis Englefield, 2nd Baronet, who appears to have been living on the family estate in Berkshire, probably at "the farm of Englefield" near Reading, at this period.⁴⁶ Sir Francis's mother, Lady Jane, whose property in Wiltshire he later inherited, was the "Lady Englefield the elder" to whom George Perrot dedicated *The Historie of S. Elizabeth Daughter of the King of Hungary* (no.32).

7. Wadding has the following entry:

Ioannes Genningsus ... edidit Anglice Vitam Edmundi
Genningi sui fratris germani, Londini ab haereticis
pro Christi fide suspensi. Audomari 1602.⁴⁷

No copy of an edition of 1602 appears to have survived. Fr. Christopher Grene, the Jesuit, writing in the latter half of the seventeenth century on the English martyrs, records an edition of 1603 and gives a transcript of the titlepage: "A Brief Relation of the Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Jennings, Priest, martyred 10 Dec. 1591 in London: written by Mr. J.J., Priest, 1600, and published of late by J.W. Printed with licence, 1603."⁴⁸ If there has been no slip in the transcription, it seems probable that the copy described by Grene was a variant or a reissue of the 1602 edition recorded by Wadding. If, as Wadding says, the 1602 edition was printed at S. Omer, the printer must have been Francois Bellet who was at this period the only printer in the town; he printed a number of books for the English Catholics in the five or six years preceding the setting up of a press in the Jesuit College in 1608.^{48A} The "J.W." in the sentence "Published of late by J.W." in Grene's transcription is probably John Wilson who afterwards became a priest and was responsible for establishing and running the Jesuit College press at S. Omer.⁴⁹ It is of interest to note that there is a connection between John Wilson and the 1614 edition: It contains a dedicatory epistle from "I.W.P." [John Wilson, Priest] to his "euer dear and worthy friend Master I.G.P." [John Gennings, Priest]. Moreover, although the titlepage bears the imprint of Charles Boscard, the printer who succeeded Bellet at S. Omer in 1610, and although the types and most of the ornaments are Boscard's, one or two of the ornamental initials belong to the College press — which suggests that Wilson lent Boscard some of his materials for printing this book.⁵⁰

8. Wadding has the following entry:

Bonaventura Iacsenius ... scripsit librum ita inscriptum, Manuductio ad
palatium veritatis; vbi docte ac clare errantes in viam veritatis reducit.
Mechliniae anno 1616.⁵¹

Bonaventure Jackson, who became Preses of the English Franciscan community at Douai when it was formed in 1618, was previously a member of the Flemish house at Mechlin which he had joined at a time when there was no English Franciscan community existing in Europe.⁵² While he was

at Mechlin he wrote the book, *Manuductiones to the Pallace of Trueth*, which was printed for him by Henry Jaye, the English exile who had settled at Mechlin and set up as a printer in 1610.⁵³

Jackson was alive at the time when Wadding was collecting information for his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* and Wadding's statement that Jackson wrote the *Manuductiones* would seem to be quite unassailable on any principles of historical investigation. Yet the treatment of this book at the hands of later bibliographers provides a good example of the muddle which results from neglecting the primary evidence, relying on the statements of untrustworthy "authorities" and reconciling inconsistencies by guesswork which is not acknowledged as such.

The source of the trouble in this case seems to lie in the wording of the approbation which begins thus: "F. Andreas a Soto, Ordinis Minorum, Reg. Obser. per Prouincias Belgicas &c. Commissarius Generalis; Ven^{do} P.F. Bonauenturae Britanno; eiusdem Ord. Prouinciae Germaniae Inferioris, Sacerdoti, Salutem. Cum mihi constet, libellum quendam, Titulo, Manuductiones ad veritatis Regiam, ex optimis Authoribus abs te concinnatum ..." A misreading of this approbation seems to be the only possible explanation of the statement by Dodd and later bibliographers that the author's name was Britton. Dodd, writing just over a century after the publication of the *Manuductiones*, converts the author into "Richard Britton, A Franciscan frier" who "published a book of controversy concerning the general motives of the Catholick faith intitul'd: Manuduction to the Palace of Truth. Mechlin. 1616."⁵⁴ This is not an incidental allusion in the course of the general historical narrative; Dodd is here professing to give us details concerning the lives of members of the religious orders, yet he tells us nothing about this "Richard Britton" and he gives no references. The only Richard Britton who is mentioned in the records of the English Franciscan province died in 1554, over sixty years before the publication of the *Manuductiones*. It looks suspiciously as if Dodd has turned the adjective "Britannus" into a surname and, in a moment of mental aberration, attached to it the Christian name of the Franciscan priest, Richard Britton, who had died many years before.

In the nineteenth century confusion becomes worse confounded. Foley (1880), annotating the entry for the secular priest, Matthew Britton, in the *Liber Ruber* of the English College, Rome, refers to the above entry in

Dodd and says, without producing any evidence, that Matthew and Richard were probably brothers.⁵⁵ Gillow (1885) reproduces the remarks of Dodd and Foley concerning "Richard Britton" and says: "Further particulars of his life, or the date of his death have not been recorded."⁵⁶ This does not prevent Gillow from inventing a second Christian name and calling him "Richard Francis Britton." He perhaps concluded from the initials F.B. on the titlepage of the *Manuductions* that the author was using his name in religion and that F. probably stood for Francis. Thaddeus (1898), with more historical sense than his predecessors, goes back to Wadding and rightly accepts his attribution of the work to Bonaventure Jackson. But, in order to reconcile this attribution with the statements of "authorities" such as Dodd and Gillow, he says that Jackson published the book "under the pseudonym of Richard Britton," and he gives as his reference the passage in Dodd which we have quoted above.⁵⁷ The "pseudonym" is pure invention on the part of Thaddeus, as a glance at the book is sufficient to show, but Thaddeus seems to have had no qualms about making a categorical assertion of this sort although he had not seen the book himself and was in no position to form any considered judgment.

9. Stanney's authorship of this work is confirmed by Wadding:

Gulielmus Stannie ... edidit idiomate Anglicano tractatum De poenitentia in gratiam eorum, qui Tertii Ordinis S. Francisci Regulam in saeculo profitentur. Mechliniae anno 1601.⁵⁸

The imprint and date given by Wadding raise a problem. As far as is known, there was no printer working at Mechlin in 1601, and, in any case, it is clear from the Douai edition of 1617 that the work was written - or at least, completed - in the previous year. No copy of a Mechlin edition is known to have survived. If there was such an edition, it was probably printed by the English printer, Henry Jaye, who set up in business in the town in 1610. It was Jaye who printed the work of another English Franciscan, Fr. Bonaventure Jackson, whose *Manuductions to the Pallace of Trueth*, appeared in 1616. If Fr. Stanney's work was printed at Mechlin it would probably have appeared before the end of 1618 when Bonaventure Jackson, who belonged to the Flemish community in the town, and who would probably have seen the work through the press in the author's absence on the mission, left to join Fr. Gennings's English community of St. Bonaventure's at Douai.

In his "Epistle to the Reader" in the 1617 edition published at Douai, Stanney says that he had made an earlier translation of the Rule from a French version some seventeen years before. Possibly Wadding's entry refers to this earlier translation, but if this is the case, the book cannot have been printed at Mechlin; moreover, Stanney says nothing about his earlier translation having been printed; in fact, his subsequent remarks suggest that the 1617 edition is the first appearance of the English text of the Rule in print. He recalls an ordinance passed at the last General Chapter of the whole order held at Toledo in 1606, requiring local superiors to publish the Rule in their provinces, and he says that soon after he was appointed Commissary for England – that is, sometime after 1606^{58A} – he made a new translation, this time from the Latin. But so remarkable had been the expansion of the Third Order among lay Catholics in England "within this last ten yeares, since that commandement was given" that to save himself writing out the text a great many times he had decided to have the work printed.

Stanney says at the end of his *Treatise of Penance* that he intends to publish a work on the Archconfraternity of the Cord of the Passion, and it would seem, from his obituary notice in the "Necrology of the English Province of Friars Minor," that he carried out his intention. The "Necrology" mentions his literary work and refers to three of his books by their titles:

... plures libros Scripsit unum quem intitulavit Tractatum de poenitentia, alterum de Statutis et memorabilibus 3¹¹¹ Ordinis in gratiam Saecularium ejusdem Ordinis, tertium anglicano idiomate de Confraternitate Chordae, praeter plura Opuscula pia manuscripta posteris relicta.⁵⁹

Of the three books mentioned only the *Treatise of Penance* can now be traced. A small book entitled *A Shorte Declaration, of the Arch-Confraternitie of the Corde* was printed at Brussels, probably for Fr. Francis Bell, in 1630, four years after Stanney's death; but it contains no reference to Stanney and we have no means of knowing whether it incorporates any of his work (See no.26 and commentary).

10. This work presents several problems to which we can give only tentative answers. It has a dedicatory epistle to the English Poor Clares at Gravelines by Christopher Davenport, in religion Franciscus a S. Clara. Davenport entered the order at the house of the Flemish Franciscans at

Ypres in October 1617;⁶⁰ he was professed in the following year and was one of the small group of English Franciscans who assembled at St. Bonaventure's, Douai in 1618. In his dedicatory epistle to the nuns, signed "Cla. Fra.," he speaks of "your zealous importuning me to preuayle with a third, that could and would vndertake the Translation of this worke frō French wherein it was impressed to our vulgar tounge."

According to the approbation, signed by the Bishop of S. Omer on 22 January 1618, the translator was a certain William Cape:

... hunc librum cui titulus The Chronicle of the Frere Minors, a probō & Catholico viro D. Guilielmo Cape in linguam Anglicanam versum ... typis mandari ac diuulgari permittimus.

It is evident, however, from the headings to several of the books into which the work is divided, that there was more than one translator. Book one is said to be "Englished out of French by F.C.;" book three is "Translated by the parties afore mentioned" (though, in fact, only one – the unidentified "F.C." – has been mentioned); books four to seven likewise refer to translators in the plural. It is tempting to identify "F.C." as Franciscus a S. Clara and to regard the work as a joint enterprise of priest and layman, but it would be dangerous to make such an assumption where the evidence is so slight. Davenport would not have used the name Franciscus a S. Clara before October 1617, at the earliest, and the translation must have been begun long before this, for the work was passed by the censor in the following January and the complete text runs to well over seven hundred quarto pages.

Who was William Cape? Gillow has a note on chaplains at the convent at Gravelines following the text of the convent registers published by the Catholic Record Society in 1914.⁶¹ He creates a fictitious chaplain, "the Rev. William Cape," who, he says, "appears to have been here when at the request of Fr. Christopher Davenport, O.S.F., he translated from the French – 'The Chronicle and Institution of the Order of the Seraphicall Father St. Francis'." This is pure fiction. Not only is there no evidence at all that the convent had a chaplain of this name, but the wording of the approbation of *The Chronicle and Institution* makes it clear that the translator was a layman. It is hardly credible that an ecclesiastical approbation would refer to a priest as "probus & Catholicus vir."

Some fragmentary records survive of English Catholics with the surname Cape who were associated with the Franciscans or with the town of S. Omer. We learn from the Chronicle of St. Monica's at Louvain⁶² that Sister Ann Mortimer, before she was professed as an Augustinian nun in 1620, had lived for some time as a maidservant to "Mr. Cape" at S. Omer. He had brought her over from England on the death of her aunt with whom she had lived, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to see to her spiritual welfare. Unfortunately the Chronicle does not give his christian name; he may well have been the William Cape, "probus & Catholicus vir" whom Fr. Davenport persuaded to translate Mark of Lisbon. Several Franciscans who bore the name Cape in the seventeenth century were probably related to "Mr. Cape" of S. Omer. There was Antony who became a lay-brother at St. Bonaventure's c. 1619;⁶³ Peter who was professed at St. Bonaventure's c. 1625;⁶⁴ Mary who joined the Poor Clares at Gravelines and was professed in 1619.⁶⁵ A certain Francis Cape was acting as servant to Viscount Montague's daughter, Mary, at S. Omer in 1617; on 23 May of that year Robert Williams, one of the Viscount's servants, was given a pass to go to S. Omer and bring Mary back to England to appear before the Privy Council, and she came accompanied by two servants, Mary Vachell and Francis Cape, who were afterwards allowed to return to S. Omer.⁶⁶ In June 1627 we have a reference, in a spy's account of the activities of Catholic priests and their helpers, to "one Capes, the Lord Montacutes man, dwelling in Drury Lane, at the house which was Sir Lewis Lewheners brought by the said lord for such persons."⁶⁷ He is almost certainly to be identified with the William Cape who was in the service of Francis Browne, 3rd Viscount, six years later (Antony Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount, having died in 1629). In August 1633, another of the Viscount's servants, John Arismendy, who had been arrested on suspicion of treasonable dealings with Richard Smith, the exiled Bishop of Chalcedon, in Paris, wrote from prison to William Cape, imploring him to persuade Dr. George Leyburne and Père Joseph, two of the Queen's chaplains, to ask the Queen to intercede for him, and if this failed, to approach the French Ambassador.⁶⁸ It is evident from the context that Cape was a man of some influence, and from other remarks in the same letter we can judge that he enjoyed Viscount Montague's closest confidence.

We cannot establish the precise relationship between the various

Catholics with the name Cape who flit tantalizingly across the scene at this period, but it seems fairly clear that some of those whom we have mentioned were members of a family which went abroad for religion's sake in the early years of the seventeenth century and settled at S. Omer. They had close ties with the English Franciscans and with the Poor Clares of Gravelines, only a few miles distant from S. Omer, and also with the family of Viscount Montague, the friend and patron of the English Franciscans, one of whose daughters lived for a time at S. Omer. The William Cape who translated the *Chronicle of Mark of Lisbon* must have been a member of this family; but whether he was the head of it or one of the sons, and whether he is to be identified with the William Cape who later served Viscount Montague in England, are questions which, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot answer.

One final point is worth mentioning. *The Chronicle and Institution of the Order of the Seraphicall Father S. Francis* is a substantial quarto of nearly eight hundred pages. It must have been very expensive to produce, far beyond the means of the English Franciscan community. Fr. Davenport, in his preface, speaks of the difficulties experienced in getting the book printed; its publication, he says, was "with much difficultie obteyned, & after longe expectation finished by the greate paynes of an extraordinary deuote of your order, and particularly of your couent." Was this unnamed benefactor Viscount Montague himself?

11. Wadding has the following entry:

Hieronimus a S. Bonaventura ... edidit Anglice librum, cui titulus Petrus in Naufragio. Duaci an. 1618. in quo egregie ostendit fidem Catholicam esse vnicum remedium ad salutem.⁶⁹

Pickford was a student of the English College, Douai, 1616-1618. He was ordained as a secular priest at Douai in 1618 and joined the Franciscans in December of the same year.⁷⁰ His book, *The Safegarde from Ship-wracke*, was printed at Douai in 1618, just before he became a Franciscan, hence there is no Franciscan approbation and the author is referred to on the titlepage simply as "I.P. Priest." When Pickford was at the English College, and afterwards when he came on the English mission, he used the alias Daniel; hence the identification "Pickford alias Daniel" in the STC. entry for this book.

12. This is a new translation by Heigham, not a re-editing of Nicholas Love's translation. As far as is known, the publication had no connection with the English Franciscans.
- 13-16. The works in this group are closely associated with the convent of English Poor Clares at Gravelines. All except two of them consist of extracts from Mark of Lisbon's Chronicle in the translation made at the request of the nuns by William Cape (no.10). The two works which are not taken from Mark of Lisbon are the *Declarations and Ordinances* (no.14) and the life of St. Catharine of Bologna (part of nos. 15 & 16). The first of these is a translation of the papal pronouncements on the Franciscan Rule delivered to St. Colette,⁷¹ the early fifteenth century reformer, and the second is a translation, through the French, of the life of St. Catharine by the Italian friar, Dionisio Paleotti.⁷² Both translations were the work of a nun of the convent at Gravelines, but there is conflicting evidence as to her identity.

Wadding says that she was Sister Catharine of S. Magdalen. He attributes to Sister Catharine these two works and also a translation, printed at Douai in 1635, of a French life of St. Clare:

Catharina a S. Magdalena ... transtulit e Gallico in Anglicum idioma Vitam suae Institutricis S. Clarae. Duaci apud Martinum Boggard an. 1635 & Vitam B. Catharinae Bononiensis, nec non Declarationes aliquot in Regulam S. Clarae. Audomari.⁷³

The French life of St. Clare was Hendricq's *La Vie Admirable* (see no.37). The word "Audomari," qualifying Wadding's second and third entries, settles beyond reasonable doubt that they refer to the works which we are here discussing. The life of St. Catharine and the *Declarations and Ordinances* can both be identified from the types and ornaments as having been printed at the press of the English Jesuits at S. Omer, a few miles distant from Gravelines. The registers of the English Poor Clares lend some support to Wadding's attributions. Elizabeth Evelinge was professed at the convent at Gravelines in July 1620, taking the name in religion Catharine of St. Magdalen, and she died in 1668 as abbess of the daughter house at Aire. Her obituary notice in the convent register,⁷⁴ recording her many virtues and accomplishments, speaks of her "more polished way of writing above her sex" — a remark important in its context, since this is the only reference to literary attainments in any of the obituary notices in the registers at this period.

Wadding's attribution, however, conflicts with statements in two of the books themselves. Both the 1621 translation of Paleotti's life of St. Catharine and the 1635 translation of Hendricq's life of St. Clare state that the translator was Sister Magdalen of St. Augustine (Catharine Bentley). Sister Magdalen Augustine was an older contemporary of Sister Catharine Magdalen, first at Gravelines then at Aire; she was professed at Gravelines in 1610, and she died as Vicareess of the convent at Aire in 1659.⁷⁵ There is nothing in her obituary notice in the registers of the Poor Clares to suggest that she had any literary leanings. Yet the two books which bear her name were printed at an interval of fourteen years, and at different presses. Perhaps there was some sort of collaboration between the two nuns. It is improbable that we shall ever know the answer, and in the absence of evidence it is useless to speculate.

19.

Gillow, writing in the second volume of his *Bibliographical Dictionary* in 1885 on Benet of Canfield,⁷⁶ wrongly identified the translator of the three lives as "Robert Rookwood alias Rose O.S.F." Thaddeus, in *The Franciscans in England*, 1898, gives the name as "Rookwood John, or Robert Rose."⁷⁷ As Gillow realized when he came to write a note on Rookwood in the last volume of his *Dictionary*,⁷⁸ the lifetime of Fr. John Rookwood alias Rose spanned the last years of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth; he was not alive when this book was printed in 1623. Gillow makes what seems clearly to be the correct identification in his annotations to the registers of the English Poor Clare Nuns at Gravelines, published by the Catholic Record Society in 1914,⁷⁹ where he says that the translation was made by Robert Rookwood, a secular priest who became chaplain to the convent. Rookwood, the son of Edward Rookwood of Euston, Suffolk, went as a student to the English College, Rome, in 1620, at the age of thirty-two, and was ordained in the following year, but he does not appear to have left the college until 1626, when he departed — according to the *Diary of the college* — for England.⁸⁰ As far as we know he never reached England. He became chaplain to the convent at Gravelines in 1626 and he remained there till 1644 when he accompanied the colony which set out to found a daughter-house at Rouen. He died at Rouen in 1668.⁸¹

Rookwood was still at the English College, Rome, when his book was

published by John Heigham at Douai. He dedicated it to Elizabeth Tyldesley, in religion Sister Clare Mary Ann, Abbess of the convent at Gravelines which he was later to serve as chaplain.

The life of Fr. Archangel, in the French version, was a translation by Brousse from a Latin work by Faustinus Diestensis, *Alter Alexius Natione Scotus*.

20. This work has a remote Franciscan connection in that the French original was adapted from a work which was for long thought to be by St. Bonaventure. But there the Franciscan association ceases, as far as we know. The French text was written by a Jesuit and the identity of the English translator, who signs himself R.F., is unknown. There is nothing in the book to suggest that R.F. was a Franciscan.

The earliest edition of the French text that I have been able to discover was printed by Pierre de Rache at Lille in 1640: *Le Psautier de Notre Dame, composé en latin par S. Bonaventure, et mis en françois par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus. Version nouvelle, plus correcte que toutes les précédentes.*⁸² It is clear from the title that there had been a number of earlier editions. After the death of Pierre de Rache in 1648,⁸³ the "privilege" granted him by the Privy Council at Brussels⁸⁴ was transferred, first to his widow and then to his sons, Ignace and Nicholas.⁸⁵ Assuming that the "privilege" had remained with the same family from the beginning, as was the usual practice, we can place the date of the first publication between 1612, the year in which Pierre de Rache, the first member of his family to become a printer, established his business,⁸⁶ and 1624 when the English translation appeared. Pierre de Rache was printer to the Walloon Jesuit college in Lille and it is probable that the publication of the *Psautier de Notre Dame ... mis en François par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus* was commissioned by the college. Starting from these data we can make a tentative suggestion as to the identity of the anonymous Jesuit.

The only reference to a psalter of the Blessed Virgin in Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, 1643 occurs among the works attributed to the Belgian Jesuit, Antoine Sucquet.⁸⁷ Sucquet died in 1626 after a distinguished career in the Society, having been for some years Provincial of the Flanders Province of Belgium. He wrote several works of devotion, including one, *Via Vitae Aeternae*, first printed at Antwerp in

1625, which achieved great popularity and was translated into many languages. There is no inherent improbability in the attribution; Sucquet could well have been the author of the *Psaultier de Notre Dame* and it would not have been difficult for him to publish it at Lille, the headquarters of the neighbouring Walloon Province. But there is more positive evidence than this. Alegambe evidently did not see the book himself, since he gives no indication of the date and place of publication, but he knew enough about it to be able to specify the title as *Paruum Psalterium B.V. Mariae*. Now the *Psaultier de Notre Dame ... mis en Francois par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus* is a translation of the *Psalterium Paruum* once thought to be by St. Bonaventure. There are two psalters of Our Lady among the works formerly attributed to St. Bonaventure, the *Psalterium Paruum* and the *Psalterium Maius*. The *Psalterium Maius* was published separately a number of times from the fifteenth century onwards, both in the original and in translation. An anonymous French translation of it was printed by Claude Chappelet at Paris in 1586 and reprinted in 1601.⁸⁸ Another French translation was made by the Jesuit, Joseph de Gallifet, in the early eighteenth century. An English translation by Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, is noted in our commentary under no.6 above. But the *Psalterium Paruum*, as far as is known, was never published apart from collections of St. Bonaventure's works, except in the French translation with which we are here concerned, the *Psaultier de Notre Dame* printed by Pierre de Rache at Lille in the early seventeenth century, and in the English version which was made from it.

21. In his postscript Bell says that he intends to make a collection of papal letters and other documents concerning the Third Order which he will publish in an English translation:

The Bulles and Apostolical letters of 9. Popes. For better declaration of this forme of life, with constitutions of some Prelates of S. Francis Order concerning the same, (God willing and Superiors) I shal heerafter collect, and in our mother tonge giue to you as j haue done this.

We do not know whether he was able to carry out his promise. If the book was ever published, no copy of it appears to have survived.

22. Wadding has the following entry:

Robertus Rochfordus ... scripsit Anglice Vitam S. Patritij Hiberniae Apostoli ex Iocelino potissime desumptam. Prodiit Audomari in 4.⁸⁹

Rochford, a native of Leinster, received the Franciscan habit at St. Anthony's, the house of the Irish friars at Louvain, in 1616, and was ordained priest there in 1621. His translation, *The Life of the Glorious Bishop St. Patricke, etc.*, seems to have been his only published literary work. He left Louvain at some time between 1625 and 1630 when he was sent to Spain to teach.⁹⁰ The initials B.B. at the end of the dedicatory epistle to his book are probably only a printer's error for R.R. It was not customary for the Irish Franciscans to use false initials and it would have been singularly pointless to do so here while disclosing at the same time that the writer was a Franciscan from the Louvain convent. In his "Aduertisements to the Reader" the translator apologises for faults of the press, saying "they could not be but many by reason of my absence from the Print." The book was printed for John Heigham, probably by George Seutin, at S. Omer, well over a hundred miles from Louvain.

24. Wadding records two books by Perrot:

Georgius a S. Gulielmo ... transtulit ex Italico in Anglicum idioma librum Bartholomaei a Salutio piissimi Minoritae, cui titulus, *Septem Tubae*. Dnaci anno 1628. Item edidit Anglice *Directorium spirituale*, quod ipse ex variis authoribus docte collegit. Ibidem.⁹¹

No copy of an edition of the *Septem Tubae* printed at Douai in 1628 appears to have survived. The only edition known is the one printed for John Heigham at S. Omer in 1626, in which the translator's identity is concealed under the initials G.P.

I have been unable to identify the work that Wadding calls *Directorium Spirituale*. There is just a possibility that it was the work which was added as an appendix to *The Historie of S. Elizabeth Daughter of the King of Hungarie* (See commentary on no.32).

26. This is a brief account of the Franciscan sodality, the Archconfraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, sometimes called the Archconfraternity of the Cord of the Passion, instituted by the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus V, in 1585. The types and ornaments used in the book show that it was printed by John Pepermans of Brussels who printed *The Rule of the Religious, of the Thirde Order*, 1624 (no.21), and *A Short Relation of the Life ... of S. Elizabeth ... Queen of Portugall*, 1628 (no.25). Fr. Francis Bell was still confessor to the English nuns of the Third Order at Brussels when the

Shorte Declaration was printed by Pepermans, and it is probable that he edited and published it.

27. STC. follows Sayle⁹² in dating this book [1609], possibly for no better reason than that the edition printed by Cardin Hamillon at Rouen bears the date 1609. The imprint of Jean Cousturier of Rouen appears on a number of Catholic books for the English market printed between 1630 and 1640; none of them bears a date earlier than 1630. The earliest foreign book with his imprint which I have been able to discover is an edition of the second part of Averoult's *Fleurs des Exemples, ou catechisme historial*, 1626.⁹³ There seems to be no evidence that Cousturier was in business at Rouen as early as 1609.
28. There is nothing in the book itself linking the "W. Colman" who signs the dedicatory verse with the Walter Colman who joined the Franciscan order in 1625 taking the name in religion Christopher a S. Clara. As the book was printed with licence by a London printer, it was no doubt considered prudent to conceal the author's religious status. We have the testimony both of Angelus Mason, in his *Certamen Seraphicum* (1649), and of Wadding, in *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (1650), that the work was written by Walter Colman, the Franciscan. Mason quotes the title and mentions that it was dedicated to the Queen:
- Opus vtile, qui titulus Duellum Mortis metro Anglicano a se compositum, in lucem edidit, Sacraeque Majestati Angliae Regine dedicavit.⁹⁴
- Wadding writes:
- Christophorus Colmanus ... edidit rhythmo Anglico Mortis duellum, Londini an 1628.⁹⁵
- No edition bearing the date 1628 is known. Mason, who knew Colman personally, describes how his work came to be written and published.⁹⁶ While Colman was still a novice at St. Bonaventure's, he composed a poetic meditation on death which the master of novices ordered him to burn. He obeyed the order without demur, but after his profession he rewrote his poem in such intervals of relaxation as his religious duties and his studies allowed, until he found sufficient leisure on the mission in England to complete it. Mason's story is consistent with the known facts of Colman's early career in the order. He became a novice at St. Bonaventure's, Douai,

in 1625 or early 1626, and was professed twelve months later.⁹⁷ He came on the mission to England in November 1627.⁹⁸ The only known edition of his poem is the undated edition printed for him by William Stansby, the London publisher. The work was entered to Stansby in the Stationers' Register on 13 June 1631 as "a booke called Deaths Duell by W.C."⁹⁹ and there is reason for thinking that it was printed either towards the end of 1631 or early in 1632.

Following the long poem which gives its title to the book are several shorter pieces; the last two of these – "The Authours Apologie for the title of his Booke iniuriously conferrd by Roger Muchill, vpon a Sermon of Doctor Donnes" and "An Epitaph vpon Roger Muchill" – are diatribes on the London publisher, Roger Michell, who, according to Colman, had stolen the title "Death's Duel" and conferred it on a sermon by John Donne. The reference is to Donne's last sermon, preached in February 1631 a few weeks before his death, and published posthumously; it was printed in 1632 for Benjamin Fisher and Richard Redmer with the title *Deaths Duell or, a consolation to the soule, against the dying life of the body*.¹⁰⁰ Neither the book itself nor the entry for it in the Stationers' Register, made on 30 September 1631,¹⁰¹ contains any mention of Roger Michell. But if, as Colman claims, it was Michell who stole his title, the theft probably took place in the middle of 1631 when the two works were in manuscript, perhaps before 30 September when the sermon was entered to Fisher and Redmer in the Register, though the entry refers to it simply as "a Sermon preached by Doctor John Dunn vpon the 20th verse of the 68th Psalme at Whitehall before the King." Colman makes great play in his verses with the fact that Michell has been cut off suddenly by death in the midst of his wickedness. We do not know the exact date of Michell's death, but after 29 April 1631 his name disappears completely from the Stationers' Register.

Mason records the fact that Colman wrote two other works, a poem on the controversies of the times, and a translation into English of the life of St. Angela Merici of the Third Order of St. Francis.¹⁰² He says that he has not seen these works and that they have probably perished. We have only to add that the passage of three centuries has not brought them to light.

31. Wadding says of Bell "sui Institutoris Testamentum Anglice edidit cum doctis, ac piis adnotationibus" and he gives as the imprint "Duaci apud

Balthazarem Bellin [*sic*] an. 1632."¹⁰³ It seems almost certain that he is here referring to *The Testament of William Bel* and that, not having seen the book himself, he is making a false inference based on information sent to him several years after Francis Bell's death. The work published by Francis Bell in 1632 was not a translation of the Testament of St. Francis (*Testamentum Institutoris sui*), but the text of his own father's will (*Testamentum patris sui*) which he edited for the benefit of his fellow English Catholics because of the exposition of Christian precepts it contained.

32.

There is a reference, which must be to this book, in the prefatory epistle to another book of the same title, *The History of S. Elizabeth Daughter of the King of Hungary*, written by Sir Thomas Hawkins's Jesuit brother, Henry, and printed at the College press, S. Omer, in the previous year (no.30). In his "Epistle to the Reader" Henry Hawkins writes:

This only I must needes admonish you, that you bee not troubled, when you meete with another Treatise of this Saint, more curiously and elaboratly written by a neater quill, but to accompt the same as it is; an Abstract rather of her Life directed to a noble Lady, and consequently most apt for such, who likely afford not leysure to attend to treatises of greater bulke. Whereas this same here is meant for all, and intended as I sayd, as a model and patterne of the three states & conditiōs of Women lyuing in the world.

The present work is dedicated to "the Hon^{ble} the Lady Englefield the elder," the dedicatory epistle being signed: "Your La^{pps} humble beadesman. G.P." There is some reason for thinking that the initials stand for George Perrot, the English friar who translated the *Septem Tubae* of Bartholomew Saluthius (no.24). The elder Lady Englefield was Jane, widow of Sir Francis Englefield, 1st Baronet (d.1631).¹⁰⁴ She was the niece of Anthony Browne, 2nd Viscount Montague, the translator of St. Bonaventure's life of St. Francis (nos. 6 & 35). After her husband's death in 1631, Lady Englefield inherited his house of Vasterne, near Wootton Bassett in Wiltshire, but she was no doubt a frequent visitor to the Englefield properties near Reading known as "the farm of Englefield" and White Knights where at least two of her sons were living with their families at this time. Both households were staunchly Catholic and there is some evidence that one of them maintained a Franciscan chaplain. Probably at one of these houses she met Fr. George Perrot who had been appointed

titular Guardian of Reading in 1630. There was undoubtedly a close spiritual relationship between Lady Englefield and her "humble beadesman. G.P.," for he speaks in his dedicatory epistle of his "titles of obligation, which challenge both my pen & person in all duty to your La^{pp}," and he refers explicitly to the fact that she, like St. Elizabeth of Hungary, is a Franciscan tertiary.

The writer of the dedication says that the translation has been sent to him by "a worthy gentleman" for his approval, and he adds: "I was Zealous to further the presse, annecting an Appendix or adioynder of mine owne poore conceits, as I hope, not vnprofitable to the Reader." There is no such appendix in the only copy known to have survived, that at the British Museum, in which the translation ends on sig. F7^v, the last leaf, sig. F8, being blank. If the appendix was printed, it must have been printed as a separate quire or quires. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that Wadding, in his notice of George Perrot, after speaking of Perrot's translation of the *Septem Tubae* of Bartholomew Saluthius, refers to another work of his which has not so far been identified: "Item edidit Anglice Directorium spirituale, quod ipse ex variis authoribus docte collegit." It is just possible that this is the work that was appended to the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, but there is no evidence for regarding it as more than a possibility.

Following the dedication to Lady Englefield is a lengthy epistle entitled "A Commonitory to the Reader," written, it would seem, by a religious superior. The writer speaks of his "intentions in exposinge to publike viewe the life of this glorious saint" and the "grownds ... wherefore I haue perused and approued this history." He signs himself: "Your Friend. F.C." It is possible that this "peruser" was the Franciscan, Christopher Davenport, in religion Franciscus a S. Clara or Franciscus Coventriensis, who was at this time titular Guardian of London.

The *Historie of S. Elizabeth* is the last book known to have been published by the English Franciscans at Brussels. It was printed for them by the widow of Hubert Anthony who had printed Fr. Giles Willoughby's translation of St. Peter of Alcantara in the previous year, 1632.

33. The only copy recorded in STC. (no.13035) is given the unspecified location "Private library." A note on the card from which the STC. entry

was printed (kept at the British Museum) reveals that the library was that of the family of Finch of Lane End House, Mawdesley, Lancashire. This library was given, some years after the publication of STC., to Stonyhurst College where it is now kept as a separate collection known as the Mawdesley Collection.

35. See commentary on no.6.

36. The translator's name is not revealed in the book. Wadding has the following entry:

Angelus a S. Francisco ... edidit Anglice Regulam & testamentum S. Francisci cum sententiis aureis B. Aegidii socii eiusdem sancti Institutoris. Ibidem [Douai] apud Boggard anno 1633.¹⁰⁵

The date 1633 in Wadding's entry may be an error for 1635. Mason was withdrawn from the English mission in 1634 to become Vicar and Novice Master at St. Bonaventure's. The 1635 edition of *The Rule and Testament* bears the approbation of John Gennings, the Provincial, dated 10 February of the same year. The only copy which appears to have survived — that at Mapledurham House, Oxfordshire — is bound with a copy of the 1635 edition of St. Bonaventure's life of St. Francis, translated by Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague (no.35), and though the two books are bibliographically separate, each having its own titlepage, pagination and signatures, *The Rule and Testament* follows the *Life* and has no preface or dedicatory epistle of its own, which suggests that it was not issued separately.

37. Francois Hendricq's *La Vie Admirable de Sainte Claire*, consisting mainly of extracts translated from Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, was printed by the widow of Charles Boscard at S. Omer in 1631.¹⁰⁶

For the identity of the English translator, see commentary on nos.13-16.

40. The initials R.H. may perhaps be identified as those of the Robert Howard who wrote *A Sacred Poeme describing the Miraculous Life and Death of ... S. Marie of Aegipt* (no.42 below). The work is dedicated by the translator in very affectionate terms "To the Right Hon^{ble} and truely vertuous good lady, the L. Aletheia Fairfax, Viscountesse of Emula."

Madame, the happy acquaintance of that noble Lady, your deare mother, liues

still fresh in my memory ... I know not how I might more honour the memory of her gone, and better expresse my respects to your selfe, then to make choyce of your Honour (as her lively picture,) to be the patronesse of this litle booke ... The lady to whom these compliments are addressed, Alethea, the wife of Thomas Fairfax, 1st Viscount Fairfax of Emley, was Robert Howard's niece, the child of his elder brother Philip. The intimacy of the dedication suggests that it may have been written by one of the family; and if that is so, the author was certainly Robert, for no other member of the family bore the initials R.H. at this time.¹⁰⁷ There is a possibility, however, that the initials are those of Roger (in religion, Augustine) Hungate, O.S.B., who, at some time in the 1630s, was apparently at Naworth with the Howard family where he must have known Mary Howard (née Carrill), Lady Alethea's mother.¹⁰⁸ Neither the Franciscan nor the Benedictine records seem to throw any light on the matter. The book bears no approbation. It is not mentioned by Wadding, though Howard was alive when *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* was published and Wadding correctly assigns to him the authorship of the anonymous *Sacred Poeme describing the Miraculous Life and Death of ... S. Marie of Aegipt*, 1640. On the other hand, the press of Denis Hudsebaut of Douai, where the book was printed, was closely associated with St. Bonaventure's, Hudsebaut having taken over the business of Martin Bogard who had printed a number of books for the English Franciscans.

41. There is also a variant, without the imprint (STC.21628^a). The British Museum and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, have each a copy of the variant. Imperfect copies, wanting the titlepage, of one or the other are to be found at Heythrop and New Hall, Chelmsford.
The book contains no approbation. The dedicatory epistle "To the noble and Vertuous lady the Lady Audley" is signed: "Your most obliged, R.F." The use of the bare initials and the absence of any of the familiar traits of Franciscan publishing suggest that the translator was not a member of the order. Lady Anne Audeley, née Packington, was the wife of Sir Henry Audeley of Berechurch, Essex; they were both Recusants and their house at Berechurch was well-known as a refuge for priests.
42. All the copies recorded, except that at Ushaw,¹⁰⁹ are imperfect, wanting

sig. H4 which bears the approbation and colophon. The approbation reads: "Approbatio. Imprimi potest, viso testimonio P. Joannis Vincent Philosophiae apud PP. Recollectos Anglos Lectoris primarij Duaci 18. Augusti 1640 – Theodorus Van Covverden S. Th. Doctor ac Professor Reg. & Or." The colophon reads: "At Doway. By the widowe of Mark Wyon, at the signe of the Phoenix, 1640."

The copy in the possession of the Rosenbach Company, purchased by Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach at the Britwell Sale in 1925, bears on its titlepage the inscription in a contemporary hand: "Written by Mr Robert Howard. P^t." On the strength of this MS. attribution in the Britwell copy, which was noted at the time in Sotheby's printed catalogue of the sale, an entry was made in the British Museum catalogue attributing the work to Sir Robert Howard, the Restoration poet and dramatist, and the conjectural date was altered from [1630?], as given in an earlier entry in the British Museum catalogue and as adopted by STC., to [1685?].¹¹⁰ The discovery of a perfect copy of the book bearing an ecclesiastical approbation and the date 1640, when Sir Robert was only fourteen years old, shows that the identification was wrong. The description "P^t" stands for "priest" not "poet."

The approbation does not give the author's name but it records the fact that the work has been approved by Fr. Joannes a S. Vincentio – John Baptist Canes – Professor of Philosophy at St. Bonaventure's. The identity of the author is revealed by Wadding:

Ludouicus a Nazareth Missionarius eiusdem prouinciae, edidit rythmo patrio Vitam S. Mariae Aegyptiacae. Duaci apud Viduam Wionis anno 1640.¹¹¹

Ludovicus a Nazareth was the name in religion of Robert Howard who is mentioned both in Thaddeus¹¹² and in the "Necrology of the Friars Minor of the English Province." The Necrology says of him:

Anno Dmni 1676 vel circiter In Anglia dum animarum Saluti incumberet Pie Obiit V:P:F: Ludovicus a Nazareth alias Robertus Howard ex Illustrissima Familia Comitum de Carlisle oriundus qui Pro: Hiberniae ad nos divertit anno Dmni 1633.¹¹³

From the description "ex illustrissima Familia Comitum de Carlisle oriundus" it is possible to identify him with certainty. The detailed genealogical tables compiled by Henry Howard in 1834¹¹⁴ show only one Robert Howard belonging to the Carlisle branch of the family at this time: Robert, twelfth child of Lord William Howard of Naworth, born 18 January 1597. The identification of this Robert Howard with the Franciscan¹¹⁵ is

supported by an entry in Lord William's Household Books which shows that the cost of printing *A Sacred Poeme* was defrayed out of his estate. On 12 April 1641, six months after Lord William's death, his steward makes in the books "A note of moneye, layde out since ... November 2^o. 1640" which includes the following:

Payed for the printinge of St. Marie of Egipt her life (by my Lord's commaunde) in vearse, XV^{li}. 116

NOTES

1. I use the word "Franciscan" to cover members of all three orders of St. Francis, including Capuchins. There is no special significance about the year 1640. A halt has to be called somewhere and I have simply conformed to the limit set in the Bibliographical Society's *Short Title Catalogue*. This study should be regarded as the first, tentative stage of a chronological survey (not necessarily to be completed by me) of published Franciscan writings in English.
2. For the reorganization of the Province, see Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, chapter 8.
3. See Section C, commentary on no.7.
4. Section B, no.7.
5. Section B, no.9.
6. Section B, no.8.
7. For the history and records of the Convent of St. Elizabeth, see CRS. xxiv. The convent is now at Goodings, near Newbury.
8. Section B, no.21.
9. Section B, no.23.
10. Section B, no.25.
11. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that Dr. Oliver refers to a translation by Fr. Bell which I have not been able to trace: "In 1624 he published at Brussels 'A brief Instruction how we ought to hear Mass,' a translation from the Spanish of Andrea Soto, and dedicated to Anne, countess of Argyle." (*Collections*, 1857, p.543.) It seems probable, from the way in which Oliver describes the book, that he saw a copy himself.
12. The publication of his father's will. Section B, no.31.
13. Section B, no.29.
14. Section B, no.32.
15. See "The Book of the Dead" of the English Franciscan nuns, CRS. xxiv, pp.178-9.
16. Section B, nos.9,23,24. Heigham lived at Douai from 1603 to 1613 and at S. Omer from 1613 until his death, c.1631. After his move to S. Omer he continued to publish a few

- books at Douai. See *Biographical Studies*, vol.2, no.3, pp. 208, 215. I am preparing a study of Higham for publication in a future number.
17. The passage from the Chapter Acts, preserved in the Franciscan archives at East Bergholt, has been kindly communicated to me by Fr. Howard Docherty, O.F.M.:
 "Erigatur praelum pro commoditate impressionis Librorum contra Sectarios nostros observatis aliis observandis, et ejusdem Praeses et Corrector instituitur P.F. Bonaventura de S. Thoma."
 (Resolution of the Chapter held in London on the Sunday within the Octave of St. Francis 1632.)
- For the identification of Fr. Bonaventure of St. Thomas, see CRS.xxiv, pp.52, 19, 20, 268. There appears to be no further reference to the affair in subsequent Chapter acts.
18. Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica*, tom.1, pp.22-4.
19. STC. 6385.
20. Not in STC. Copy in Gillow Library (in possession of Catholic Record Society).
21. For the four English books, see Section B, nos. 35-38. A copy of one of the two Latin books, *Sacrarium Privilegiorum etc.*, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The other Latin book, *Quaestionum Theologicarum Resolutio*, is recorded by Wadding, but I have not found a copy. Wadding gives the imprint and date as "Duaci apud Martinum Boggard 1637" – but either the date is wrong or the imprint should read "apud viduam Martini Boggard."
22. Section B, no.40.
23. CRS. xxiv, p.22.
24. Francis Slingsby, writing from Dublin on 10 May 1636, to an unidentified correspondent, possibly Fr. Richard Blount S.J., the English Provincial, speaks of a book which Fr. John Gerard at Rome has asked him to have printed at S. Omer. He says that the £30 which Fr. Gerard has given him will not now meet the cost of printing:
 "Y^e booke is yet kept there in safety, & cannot goe forward during these warres betweene france, & flanders. w^{ch} hath made both paper & workman & all things at double rate, and soe y^e booke must rest vntill God send better times." (Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Manuscrits, Cat. no. 4024, f. 24).
25. From the "Aduertisement to the Reader" in Fr. John Floyd's *The Church Conquerant ouer Humane Wit*, printed at the College press in 1638, we learn something of the havoc caused by the war:
 "This Treatise, Good Reader, was to the last word and syllable thereof, finished, reuiued, and ready for the Print longe since, euen of April of this yeere 1638, so that it might haue been printed, and published ... but for the tempests and stormes of warre, which infested vltra-marine Countries neere vnto England, and were no where more boisterous then ouer that place, where this Treatise should haue been pressed into the light. For this thundering noise of Mars frighted workemen, and droue them away into other calmer coastes, and afterward brought sharpe and longe sicknesse, both on the Printer and Authour ..."
26. See Section C, commentary on no.42.
27. The particulars of Wadding's career given here are taken from *Father Luke Wadding*

- and *St. Isidore's College, Rome: biographical and historical notes and documents*. By Gregory Cleary, O.F.M., Rome, 1925.
28. The two most noteworthy are:- Joannes S. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Universa Franciscana*, Madrid, 1732-3, 3 vol.; and Joannes Sbaralea, *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisque descriptos*, published with the edition of Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* printed at Rome in 1806.
 29. Prison certificates, 1577-1580. CRS. xxii. p.131.
 30. Prison certificates, June 1582 - March 1583. CRS. ii. p.223.
 31. S.P. Dom. Eliz. CCXXV. no.17.
 32. S.P. Dom. Eliz. CLIV. no.75.
 33. For Heigham, see note 16.
 34. Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol.6, p.327. (article "Fytche.")
 35. Anthony Maria Browne, 2nd Viscount, 1573-1629.
 36. A description of the coat of arms of the Viscounts Montague is given in Mrs. Charles Roundell's *Cowdray: the history of a great English House*, 1884, p.24.
 37. I cannot identify the owner of the signature.
 38. I think the dedicatory epistle is in Viscount Montague's own hand but I have not had the opportunity of making a physical comparison with documents known to have been written by him.
 39. British Museum. Lansdowne MSS., vol.153, f.68.
 40. Third Douai Diary, entry for 18 October 1609 (CRS.x, p.100). The Diary says he accompanied a certain "D. Beum ...m" who came to the College for this purpose. I cannot identify "D. Beum...m." The whole incident is obscure. Only a month or two before this, Edward Kinsman, a layman, had published at Douai the first volume of a translation, by himself and his brother John, of the lives of the saints by the Spanish Jesuit, Villegas. Kinsman's book was printed by Pierre Auroi at some time between 25 July, the date of approbation, and 6 September, when John Kinsman, who had taken copies of the book into England, was questioned about it by Sir Julius Caesar. (Lansdowne MSS., vol.153, ff.75-6).
 41. Knox: Douay Diaries I & II, pp.135,26.
 42. Ibid. p.18.
 43. Ibid. p.33.
 44. CRS. xxx. p.15.
 45. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol. 5, p.80.
 46. T.B. Trappes-Lomax, "The Englefields of Berkshire" (*Biographical Studies*, vo.1, no.2, p.135).
 47. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
 48. Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea M, f.186. Quoted in Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs*, 1891, p.216.
 - 48a. See Newdigate, article in *The Library*, ser.3, vol.10, 1919, pp. 180-2, 241-2.
 49. Fr. Pollen is mistaken in saying that John Wilson was a "priest at St. Omers" when he printed the 1603 edition. Wilson was certainly a layman and probably in England at that period. He entered the English College, Rome, to train for the priesthood in

- November 1603. In 1605 he was ordained and sent on the mission to England (*Liber Ruber* of the English College, CRS. xxxvii, p.133). For some time after this he was actively engaged in printing Catholic Books secretly in England, as we learn from the reports of a spy, William Udall (Lansdowne MSS. vol.153, passim). He went to S. Omer evidently in 1608 (C.A. Newdigate, "Notes on the Seventeenth Century Printing Press of the English College at Saint Omers," in *The Library*, ser.3, vol.10, 1919, pp.179-92). I am preparing a study of Wilson for a future number of *Biographical Studies*.
50. The 28mm initial S on sig. A4r belongs to a set of initials used by the College press.
 51. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
 52. Thaddeus, *Franciscans in England*, 1898, p.34.
 53. D.M. Rogers, "Henry Jaye" (*Biographical Studies*, vol.1, no.2), pp.87,96.
 54. Dodd, *Church History*, vol.2, p.421.
 55. Foley, *Records S.J.*, vol.6, p.171.
 56. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol.1, p.306.
 57. Thaddeus, op.cit. p.105.
 58. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
 - 58a. Thaddeus (op.cit. p.329.), says that Stanney was made Commissary for England in 1601, but it is clear from Stanney's own words in this passage that he did not become Commissary until after the Toledo Chapter of 1606.
 59. CRS. xxiv, p.262.
 60. Thaddeus, p.29.
 61. CRS. xiv, p.167. E. Klaus, in a doctoral thesis printed at Münster in 1938, *Christopher Davenport ... Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der religiösen Wirren in England unter den Stuarts*, goes one better than Gillow and calls Cape a Franciscan: "Davenport kann nicht als der eigentliche Verfasser angesehen werden ... es ist vielmehr die Arbeit des Franziskaners William Cape, wie aus der Approbation von Joseph Blase, dem Bischof von St. Omer, im Buche ersichtlich ist" (p.20).
 62. *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses ... at St. Monica's in Louvain*. ed. Hamilton. 1904. vol.1, p.200.
 63. CRS. xxiv, pp.15,39,189,268.
 64. CRS. xxiv, p.268.
 65. CRS. xiv, p.50.
 66. *Acts of the Privy Council*. New ser. vol.35 (1616-17), pp.264,287.
 67. S.P.Dom. Ch.I, LXVIII, no.8.
 68. S.P.Dom. Ch.I, CCXLV, no.51. A certain William Cape, a Catholic, was examined at Dover in December 1638 (S.P.Dom. Ch.I,CCCCIV,no.40), but it is evident from the account he gave of himself that he was not the William Cape who served Viscount Montague. He came from Garstang, Lancs, and he was servant to a Mr. Matthews of Woodford, Dorset. He was induced by the authorities to take the Oath of Allegiance (S.P.Dom. Ch.I, CCCCIV, no.71).
 69. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
 70. CRS. x, p.132, etc.; CRS. xxiv, p.267; Thaddeus, p.287.
 71. I am indebted for this information to Dr. D.M. Rogers who has examined the volume at Killiney.

72. Paleotti's Italian life, written a few years after St. Catharine's death, was translated into Latin in the 16th century by J.A. Flaminio (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol.2, pp.35-44). A French version, made from the Latin, by N. de Soulfour, was printed at Paris in 1597 (Copy at Woodchester Priory).
73. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
74. CRS. xiv, p.52.
75. CRS. xiv, p.38.
76. Gillow, vol.2, p.345.
77. Thaddeus, p.297.
78. Gillow, vol.5, p.444.
79. CRS. xiv, p.167.
80. CRS. xxxvii, p.194.
81. I am indebted to the Mother Abbess, St. Clare's Abbey, Darlington, for this information from the unpublished Chronicle of the Rouen convent.
82. It is described in Jules Houdoy's *Les Imprimeurs Lillois*, 1879, p.249.
83. Houdoy, p.85.
84. Lille was at this period part of the Spanish Netherlands. The privilege conferred sole right to print and sell the book within the territories over which the government at Brussels had jurisdiction.
85. Brussels. Archives du Royaume. Conseil Privé Espagnol. The privileges are among the unnumbered papers in cartons 1279 and 1280.
86. Houdoy, pp.85-90.
87. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, 1643, p.45.
88. 1586 ed. in Bibliotheque Nationale; 1601 ed. recorded by Brunet.
89. *Scriptores*, 1650, p.309.
90. cf. Brendan Jennings, *Michael O Cleirigh ... and his Associates*, 1936, pp.37,38.
91. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
92. Sayle 6256.
93. Copy in Cambridge University Library. Recorded in Burrell's Index. I am indebted to Dr. D.M. Rogers for this information.
94. *Certamen Seraphicum*, p.186.
95. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
96. *Certamen Seraphicum*, pp.190-1.
97. For the date of Colman's entering the order, see Thaddeus: *Father Walter Colman, O.F.M.* (C.T.S. Pamphlet, 1906, p.4) As Thaddeus points out, Angelus Mason, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*, says that Colman joined the community at Douai when Fr. Davenport was Preses, and he seems to use the term Preses purposely instead of Guardian (*Certamen Seraphicum*, p.185). Bonaventure Jackson was Guardian at Douai in 1624 but he left in the same year to go on the English mission and Davenport was appointed to succeed him, apparently with the title of Preses until 1626 when he was made Guardian. We can add further particulars of Colman's early career from sources unused by Thaddeus. A full year had to elapse between a postulant's entering the order and his making his solemn profession. In Colman's obituary in the "Necrology of the English Province of

Friars Minor," we are told that, when he died in prison in 1645, he was in the nineteenth year of his profession (CRS. xxiv. p.260); this would seem to fix the date of his profession as 1627 or late 1626. He came to England in November 1627 and was captured immediately on arrival. Sir John Hippisley reported the fact from Dover Castle to Secretary Conway on 6 November (S.P.Dom.Ch.I, LXXXIV, no.33). Thaddeus is mistaken in thinking that he was not ordained and sent on the mission until 1633 or 1634 (op.cit.p.5). The Chapter acts record that he was approved for preaching and hearing confessions in 1634, but this is no indication of the date of his ordination; he was almost certainly ordained before he set out for England in 1627.

98. See note 97 above.
99. Arber, *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 1875-94, vol.4, p.254.
100. STC. 7031.
101. Arber, vol.4, p.261.
102. *Certamen Seraphicum*, p.187.
103. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
104. cf. T.B. Trappes-Lomax, "The Englefields of Berkshire" (*Biographical Studies*, vol.1. no.2, pp.131-48).
105. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
106. Servais Dirks, *Histoire Littéraire et Bibliographique des Freres Mineurs ... en Belgique et dans les Pays Bas*, (1885), p.177.
107. Henry Howard, *Indication of Memorials ... of the Howard Family*, 1834, pp.70 et seq.
108. My authority is a note on "Chaplains to the Fairfax Family" in an unpublished study of that family by Fr. Hugh Aveling O.S.B. Fr. Aveling's article will appear in a future number of *Biographical Studies*.
109. Presented to Ushaw in 1949 by Rev. W. Vincent Smith, then parish priest at Tow Law, Co. Durham.
110. Noted in pencil on the title-slip at the British Museum.
111. *Scriptores*, 1650, Appendix.
112. *Franciscans in England*, p.278.
113. CRS. xxiv, pp.271-2.
114. Howard, *Indication of Memorials, etc.*, pp. 70 et seq.
115. The author of *Indication of Memorials ... of the Howard Family* says that he became a monk of the Order of Saint Benedict; but this is certainly an error. Neither Birt (*Obit Book of the English Benedictines*, 1913) nor the *Documents relating to the English Benedictines* (CRS. xxxiii) contain any mention of a Robert Howard at this period.
116. Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, 1878, p.363.

Printed by *TYPOLITH* in Great Britain at the Pitman Press, Bath.